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THE SINKING OF THE MOHAWK off Sea Girt, New Jersey, only a couple of weeks after the Havana grounded on a Bahaman coral reef and four months after the Morro Castle disaster, provides a final indictment in the total charge of criminal negligence against the Ward Line. In these three wrecks 181 lives have been lost. In each case carelessness in the ordinary performance of duty has been coupled with evidence of low standards of construction and maintenance. The Mohawk, it is true, was owned by the Clyde-Mallory Line and chartered to the Ward Line to fill the vacancy left by the stranded Havana, but the companies are affiliated and the guilt, if guilt is proved, will be attached to both. But the question of individual or corporate blame is a small one beside the larger issue of the standards of ship construction and maintenance which should be established by law for all lines. We do not need to await the end of the inquiry to set down certain known facts and conclusions—one of which is that a generous share of blame for at least two of the recent disasters belongs to the United States government. If the hull of the Mohawk had been adequately divided into watertight compartments, she should not have foundered as the result of her collision with the Talisman. The International Con-

vention for Safety of Life at Sea in 1929 adopted safety standards among which were provisions that the hulls of passenger ships should be so subdivided that when any two compartments were flooded the ship would have enough reserve buoyancy to remain afloat. This country is the only major maritime nation that has failed to ratify the convention which our delegates approved. While all our recently built transatlantic ships conform to the highest standards, a coastwise line may use its own special hull designs, which need not conform to the requirements internationally agreed upon. Immediate ratification of the international convention by the Senate may save many lives in the future even though it cannot wipe out past tragedies.

THE JAPANESE INVASION of Chahar is ominous, not as a further attack on China, but as an indication of a Sino-Japanese alliance directed against the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union. Nanking's assertion that a clash involving several thousand Chinese and Japanese troops was purely a "local affair" merely demonstrates to the world what impartial observers had long surmised: that Chiang Kai-shek has completely sold out to Japan. Rumors of an impending Japanese advance into Chahar have been circulating for many months, yet last November Chiang transferred 145,000 northern troops to central China. Of the troops dispatched no less than 50,000 were taken from the forces of Sun Cheh-yuan, military chieftain of Chahar. This action appears to have been part of a concerted move to place north China completely under Japanese control. A reorganization of the local government was carried out in December in which all officials suspected of harboring anti-Japanese sentiments were removed from their positions. At the same time a virtual reign of terror was launched against individuals and groups in the community who were believed to be anti-Japanese. Among those arrested were several of China's most distinguished educators and a large number of students from the Peiping National University. Particularly prominent was Professor Feng Yu-lan, dean of the Liberal Arts School of Tsing-hua University (the institution maintained by American Boxer-indemnity funds), who was arrested and taken to a military prison at Paotingfu because he was reputed to have delivered lectures favorable to the Soviet Union. In addition, two well-known generals who had achieved renown for their activities in the defense of Jehol in 1933 were wounded by members of Chiang Kai-shek's pseudo-fascist "Blue Jackets" and after being removed to a hospital in the French concession of Tientsin, were extradited by Chinese authorities on charges of Communist activity and executed.

THE PARTICULAR SECTION of Chahar which the Japanese have taken over is important only as a stepping-stone to further advance into Inner Mongolia. Should the Japanese follow up their present drive by occupying Kalgan, they will not only be in a favorable position to strike at Russia through Outer Mongolia but—and this is of immediate importance—will be able to prevent the establish-

ment of communications between Soviet Russia and the newly formed Communist areas in Kweichow and Szechuan. For despite the optimistic bulletins issued periodically by Chiang Kai-shek's press agents, it is evident that both Nanking and Tokyo are seriously concerned over the success of the Chinese Red Army's westward march. Nor does one need to look far to see the basis of their perturbation. In their former location the Soviet districts formed a buffer between the rival forces of Nanking and Canton, and the two armies could be induced to cooperate against them. Once the reds have consolidated their power in the west, Chiang dares not send his picked troops against them for fear the Cantonese may attack his flank. Moreover, large sections of the population which are not Communist by conviction have come to view the Red Army as the sole defense against Japanese imperialism. As every new concession which Chiang makes to Japan serves to enlarge this group, the Japanese have been placed in the paradoxical position of being the true envoys of communism in the East. Unless the United States and the Western powers find some means of checking Japanese aggression, we may be faced with a gigantic social upheaval of which the outcome cannot be predicted.

LLOYD GEORGE'S CALL for a New Deal may land him in the National Government, but not because it intends to scrap its staid conservatism and meekly accept him as a Welsh replica of the Great Spender of the White House. All British developments these days are to be read first as preliminaries to the next general election. The National Government has chosen to remain "national," which means conservative beneath a thin outer coalition garment. But a garment consisting only of the National Liberalism of Sir John Simon and the Labor rags of Mr. MacDonald is embarrassingly transparent. If Lloyd George could be added, the coalition would be one of all capitalist parties against Labor. This year the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of the king will be celebrated with an outpouring of sentimentality of which the wedding of the Duke of Kent was a saccharine foretaste. While the mists of sweet loyalty are still in the air the National Government is expected to appeal to the country. But it needs to have a real coalition, and Lloyd George, though he can boast a record-breaking array of enemies, is better forgiven and absorbed than hated and left to exert his brilliant talents in the opposition. He can only be won over if there is some spending, and some no doubt will be ventured. A five-year road-building program already has been promised. But we shall be astonished if there is any on the Washington scale, or to the point of unbalancing the British budget.

CONSIDERABLE CREDIT must be given to the League of Nations for having found a formula for easing the tension in the difficult Abyssinian controversy. Although Teclé Hawariate, Abyssinian delegate at Geneva, was unable to force the League Council to take up his country's protest against Italy, his efforts were responsible for a compromise which is much better than could have been achieved if no League had existed. As a result of pressure at the Council table, Italy has agreed to withdraw its demands for an apology and an indemnity and to negotiate "in the spirit of" the 1928 treaty. While direct negotiations between a large power and a backward country bereft of in-

fluent friends are unlikely to produce justice, they may at least prevent a war in which the weaker country would be suddenly absorbed by the larger. The incident is further evidence of the emergency of a new technique in international affairs; the old game is being played under somewhat different and more refined rules.

EXCEPTION IS BEING TAKEN elsewhere in this issue to the President's ruling on the controversy between the Newspaper Guild and the publishers. And as we write, the child-labor amendment is going through its periodical grilling at Albany. It is perhaps pertinent therefore to put the two things together and to remind our readers that the newspaper publishers—who are so very anxious that the question of their employment of labor be removed from the jurisdiction of meddling government boards—are the largest and most stubborn employers of child labor in the country. As Dorothy Dunbar Bromley pointed out in last week's issue, the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA proposed as an amendment to the newspaper code that the minimum age of employment for girls in selling and delivering papers be fixed at eighteen and for boys at fourteen, provided that boys of twelve or over already employed in delivery work could continue. It was also proposed to prohibit boys under sixteen from selling or delivering papers at night or early in the morning, before school hours. The newspaper publishers flatly refused this infringement of what they like to call the freedom of the press. The standards finally sent to the employers for approval permit delivery boys to work at twelve years, and provide that those ten years old now employed in cities of 50,000 or less may continue their employment. The minimum age for street sellers is fixed at fourteen years except in cities of 50,000 or less, where it is fixed at twelve. Delivery boys are permitted to begin work at 5 a. m. instead of at 6 a. m. as at first proposed. The thought of a ten-year-old child beginning his working day at five o'clock, with five hours of school ahead of him, is something which even the opponents of the child-labor amendment may find a little hard to contemplate.

WHILE MR. HEARST is conducting his campaign against subversive influences in the colleges, he should take special notice of that radical publication the *Literary Digest*. In conducting its peace poll of the American colleges, the *Digest* raises some extremely "un-American" questions. Through its prompting, 5,400 youths—18 per cent of the total—declare that they would not fight even if the United States were invaded. Only 20 per cent of the students replying to the poll subscribed to the favorite Hearst doctrine that a navy and air force second to none would be the best means of preserving peace, while a small majority favored joining the League of Nations. Lest Hearst be discouraged regarding the efficacy of his life endeavor, we make haste to point out that in the gigantic British peace poll still under way the results reveal an even greater international bias. More than 970,000 out of 1,500,000 voters favor remaining in the League, while 93 per cent desire the abolition of private profits in the munitions trade—a possibility not even suggested in the American poll. Although we doubt whether true pacifism can be either engendered or tested by the marking of ballots, we find ourselves heartily in support of the experiment when we

read such a statement as that recently made by Sir John Simon—that “the question of war and peace is not one on which the opinion of the uninstructed should be invited.” The instructed, unfortunately, are just those whose opinion cannot be consulted; they lie beneath the sod on Flanders field.

THE REPORT of the Cuban Commission of the Foreign Policy Association just released might well be entitled “Cuba in Chaos.” After years of political and business dictatorship, backed or imposed by American interests, the population has been reduced to an economic level comparable to that of Asia. Out of this misery has grown a militant but thwarted labor movement which has kept the country in a state of constant turmoil. To remedy the situation the commission recommends, among other measures, a reorganization of the island’s economy on the basis of a more diversified agriculture and the development of small independently owned farms. It also advocates the permanent adoption of the principles of sugar control contained in the Chadbourne plan and the Jones-Costigan Act, with further measures to extend these principles by Cuban legislation. It recognizes, however, that no solution is possible without a drastic change in the policy of the United States. While the report hedges somewhat in placing responsibility for the overthrow of the Grau government upon the American State Department, the inference is nevertheless plain. Taken as a whole the report is scholarly and comprehensive, though we share the feeling of many liberal Cubans that its recommendations fall short of meeting the needs of the island.

THE CASE OF WARD H. RODGERS, who was recently convicted of “anarchy” at Marked Tree, Arkansas, and sentenced to six months in jail and a fine of \$500, is not an isolated phenomenon. As usual, it marks the eruption of one of the numerous economic volcanoes which underly the surface of American life. The volcano in this instance is the whole plantation system of the South with its thousands of share-croppers existing at a level that makes the “subsistence income” of the social economists look like Coolidge prosperity; and the present eruption may be traced directly to what the AAA has done—and left undone—in connection with its crop-reduction program. Our next issue will contain a comprehensive article on the situation written by William R. Amberson of the University of Tennessee in collaboration with Mr. Rodgers himself. For the present it is sufficient to say that the central issue in Mr. Rodgers’s case is not anarchy but his activity in organizing the Southern Tenant Farmers’ Union, which admits both blacks and whites and which is attempting among other things to prevent the eviction of share-croppers. Literally thousands of these people throughout the South are in danger of losing what little livelihood they have because the planters with whom AAA contracts are made, while accepting government funds, are violating Section 7 of the contract providing that landlords shall keep a “normal number of tenants and other employees.” Mr. Rodgers has now been released on bail and three of the charges have been dropped (including inciting to riot and the use of profane language). But the battle is only beginning. C. T. Carpenter, a lawyer of Marked Tree, is defending Mr. Rodgers and the share-croppers at the certain cost of any future career in that section. Funds both

for the defense of Mr. Rodgers and to prevent wholesale evictions are being raised by the Emergency Committee for Strikers’ Relief, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, of which Norman Thomas is chairman. Meanwhile we suggest that newspapers in search of good dramatic American copy might well transfer a few reporters from Flemington, New Jersey, to Marked Tree, Arkansas.

More Trouble for Ickes

OUR article on Justice in the Virgin Islands of two weeks ago has been the detonator to explode the whole question of partisanship in Washington. Secretary Ickes, already on the defensive as a Republican in the Cabinet in control of a great volume of public expenditure, has been pushed back to perhaps his rearmost trench, and the patronage-passers are gloriously in the ascendancy. The part our article played in this is worth reviewing. Mr. Ickes, who is a subscriber to *The Nation*, was greatly interested when he read our account of Judge Wilson’s conduct in the Virgin Islands, part of his domain as Secretary. He wanted it reproduced for circulation in the department, and it passed to the press department for that purpose. The head of the department had a toothache, and his subordinate issued the article as a memorandum to the press. The rule in the department is that no press release is to be issued without the O.K. of the Secretary himself. Mr. Ickes was in New York that day, and *The Nation* article became an official release without the O.K. of anyone. Since the article had commented on the appointment of Judge Wilson through Homer Cummings via Jim Farley via Pat Harrison, and was now an official release of the Department of the Interior, it was construed as an attack by that department upon the men named.

Too late the department tried to recall the memorandum, and the storm at once became violent. Senator Harrison angrily promised to deal with Mr. Ickes in the Senate, and rushed to the White House with a protest, emerging to tell the correspondents what a fine man Judge Wilson really is. It became necessary to promise the House, then debating the work-relief bill, that Mr. Ickes would not be allowed to spend the four-billion-dollar fund. All the old grievances against Mr. Ickes flared up. Mr. Ickes returned from New York and promptly issued an explanation and an apology to Cummings, Farley, and Harrison, and there for the moment the matter rests. But explosions of this nature almost always produce changes in the landscape. A minor one, we hear, is that Governor Pearson of the Virgin Islands, a Pennsylvania Republican named by Hoover, will be either investigated by Congress or replaced by a worthy Democrat, or both. Judge Wilson might also have to go, to keep the victory of patronage-passing from being too one-sided. But the major change may prove to be in the position of Mr. Ickes himself. The resentment against him is really not because of his enthusiasm for an article in *The Nation*, but because he is grit in the oil which keeps party politics running smoothly. This frustrates and infuriates the politicians. Despite his shortcomings we regard Mr. Ickes as a great asset to the Administration, the outstanding symbol of its bipartisanship. If he should have to go—and perhaps his days are numbered—it will not be for his faults but for his virtues.

The Letter to Mr. Biddle

THE President's letter to Chairman Biddle of the National Labor Relations Board was both a left-handed rebuke for its intervention in the Jennings case and the formulation of principles to guide the board in cases arising from labor tribunals set up under codes. As a rebuke it adequately scored Mr. Richberg's revenge against Mr. Biddle for having had the courage to override him, the President's Number One adviser, in assuming jurisdiction in the newspaper case. Mr. Richberg has shown that he is stronger at the White House than Mr. Biddle, at least when he is heavily reinforced by the organized newspaper publishers of America. Unfortunately, he has shown as well that he is stronger than simple concepts of accuracy and of the basic democratic principles of government. For the President's letter is deceptive and dangerous. It is deceptive because it gives a false impression that labor boards under the codes are functioning and should be left alone, and so advertises the President's and Mr. Richberg's shocking ignorance of, or indifference to, the history of labor adjudication under the codes. A substantiation of this charge will be found in our Washington letter in this issue. It is dangerous because it attempts to set up procedure which would permit no appeal from code tribunals on findings of fact, and no appeal on the interpretation of law save to the President himself, who thus would assume both the judicial and the executive function of government. The letter does leave the NLRB the right to inquire into the constitution of a code tribunal if appealed to, and to decide whether Section 7-a has been correctly interpreted by such a tribunal. But it is then to make recommendations only to the President, and he becomes Judge, a minor matter perhaps but ominous if it reveals a new attitude on his part toward his future under the New Deal.

Now we do not challenge the authority of the President to limit the jurisdiction of the NLRB. He established it by executive order under Public Resolution No. 44. What he gives in one executive order he can take away in another. But his letter was not an executive order; it was a "request." The President asked the board to reduce its own jurisdiction. If the board does so it will be conniving with the President in limiting the rights which labor was guaranteed under the law, and the President alone will not have to take all the blame. But the board did not at once resign, and it has not yet shown whether it will voluntarily reduce its jurisdiction. For our part we see strong reasons for its resigning, though we know that the board was urged not to do so by liberals and organized labor in the hope that the air would be cleared by legislation in the present session of Congress. Resignation last week would have been over an issue to be clearly understood by the simplest of that great army of forgotten men, workers without real collective bargaining. It would have meant that the board refused of itself to deprive labor of rights already enacted into law. It also would have meant that the board refused to acquiesce in a practice which virtually turns labor adjudication under the codes into compulsory arbitration; and that it did not care to see the President assuming the power to be the final judge on questions of law.

Our Washington correspondent believes the President's letter was drafted chiefly by Mr. Richberg, who ought to know that there are no codes whose labor tribunals now bring in "final and enforceable" decisions. It is mendacious to give the impression that the NLRB, if it intrudes, is obstructing the operation of a working system. We are not interested in the technicalities, but we are interested in whether it is possible under the codes for a worker, penalized for union activities, to receive justice. The fact is that not a single tribunal set up by a code has made a single "final" decision which has been enforced by an agency of the government. Further, it is doubtful as a question of law whether any of these tribunals have the power to bring in "final" and enforceable decisions, as the President states. Mr. Richberg thinks the newspaper board has. The newspaper board itself does not know, for it voted on the issue and divided four to four. When Blackwell Smith, general counsel of the NRA, argued before the Biddle board on its jurisdiction in the Jennings case he did not deny the right of appeal to the board; he simply urged that the newspaper board should reach a decision first, which then might be appealed. But this is not the point we wish to stress. What troubles us is that the practice now outlined by the President gives the code boards the power to bring in findings without the right of appeal except on the interpretation of the law. This is close to compulsory arbitration, and it may be that the President knows this better than anyone else and wants it that way. But he would be advised to consult someone besides Mr. Richberg on this point, since the great body of labor opinion is and will remain steadfastly opposed to compulsory arbitration.

The disheartening truth about the President's entire labor policy is that he has stood idly by while collective bargaining was scuttled by resolute obstruction, that he himself has whittled it away, and that he even himself urged labor, as in the negotiations for a steel truce, to accept less than it possesses under the law. It is also disheartening, we admit, that the A. F. of L. is not strong enough to make its power felt, or wise enough to build up its power to hold the gains it has been given under the law. If it were, the President's chief labor oracle would not be Mr. Richberg, and the letter to Mr. Biddle would not have been written. But the question is not whether labor is strong or wisely led. The question is what kind of civilization the President is building. If the New Deal is to be an economic democracy, the President, while he would be wise in not becoming himself the leader of labor and in not anticipating a nationwide labor strength which does not exist, would not frustrate and humiliate publicly a board of law and seek to reduce its competence. He is touching here what should be one of the fundamentals of a new social order, and it can never be firmer than he himself allows it to be. We feel that the letter to Mr. Biddle was petty and mean in trying to give the impression that all is well with the labor tribunals under the codes and that Mr. Biddle has been obtrusive. But we feel it was much worse for betraying how little intention the President himself has of driving straight ahead to the enforcement of the law on collective bargaining.

Picketing Playwrights

LAST week the Theater Guild's public was treated to an unusual and engaging spectacle when it met on the sidewalk two protesting playwrights who were passing out handbills instead of writing letters to dramatic editors. The two in question were Paul Sifton, author of "1931," as well as of "Midnight," which the Guild itself produced four seasons ago, and Virgil Geddes, who puts on his own plays in a Connecticut barn when he is not writing pamphlets against Eugene O'Neill. Each playwright was the meat in a sandwich bearing the legend "The Guild Is Unfair to New Playwrights," and each was provided with handbills explaining their case:

It is generally presumed by theatergoers, critics, and playwrights that the Theater Guild encourages the development of new writers. . . . A glance at the Guild's publicity will show that it has constantly salved its conscience by buying script after script and then inferentially promising them as parts of its program. It makes no consistent effort to produce these plays. . . . How is the American theater to grow in quality and importance if the Theater Guild is allowed to continue its policy of making gestures to fresh talent without putting this talent before its audiences by way of production?

Just what the public thought of this new kind of picketing it would be hard to say, and the Guild itself has made no official answer, though its unofficial one probably is that it does not know what the protesters are talking about. A check of its record shows that during the present and the preceding seven seasons it has produced fifty-three plays. Of these, twenty-seven were by American writers, and eight of the twenty-seven were by dramatists whom the Guild was introducing for the first time to a New York audience. It is true, we believe, that it recently paid Mr. Sifton \$500 for a six months' option on a play which it later released to him before the option had expired. It is also true that it still holds a similar option, several times renewed, on a play by Mr. Geddes. But it is, after all, only following an established theatrical custom. A producer undecided about a certain script sometimes keeps the author dangling without any recompense as long as possible, but it is generally considered fairer to make him an advance against possible royalties and to forfeit the sum if the play is not produced within the specified period. This procedure is called "taking an option," and no promise to produce is made or implied; if it were there would be no point in securing the option. Doubtless the Guild would be willing to release Mr. Geddes if he should find someone else anxious to produce his play, and, in fact, it did once release him only to take the script back again when the second manager also failed to act. Meanwhile it probably feels that it is at least doing him no harm by paying for the privilege of holding a play which no one else seems to want.

Various questions are nevertheless involved in the dispute. Some of them are almost too large to open because they could not possibly be answered by anyone not ready to announce a solution of the whole problem of the commercial theater and to define the extent of its duty to risk in probably unprofitable productions the profits which it must make if it is to operate at all. There remain, how-

ever, two separate and smaller questions: Does the established custom of taking options tend in general to work unnecessary hardships on the dramatist; and has the Guild been guilty of a specific injustice in its dealings with these two particular writers or with other "new playwrights?"

Many new playwrights would undoubtedly answer the first question in the affirmative. It is a well-known fact that manuscripts often languish for years in the offices of one manager after another, and that the dramatic author must put up with delays usually unknown to the novelist, who may generally expect a prompt yes or no from every publisher to whom he submits his work. But it is, on the other hand, rather difficult to see how the situation can be avoided so long as play production depends upon so many factors. Mr. Sifton's rejected play dealt, we believe, with Nazi Germany, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the flat failure of another Guild play on the same subject, coupled with the equally flat failure of still another put on by a different producer, led the directors of the Guild to decide that the public was not interested in dramatic treatments of the theme.

As to the individual grievances of Mr. Sifton and Mr. Geddes, it is hard for an outsider to judge. They have every right to appeal to the public, but that public, however sympathetic it may be to new talent, is hardly in a position to know whether or not it would like to see the plays which the Guild has considered. Evidently the Guild believes that the public would not, and there the matter must rest until the Guild changes its mind or until the two playwrights find some other means of getting their work before the public.

Two Years of Hitler

NO single event since the World War has had such profound influence on the world as Hitler's assumption of power on January 30, 1933. An overwhelming majority of Germans will insist, in most cases quite sincerely, that the two years which have elapsed since that date have brought a unity, a spiritual and moral awakening, unprecedented in German history. Regarding the first of these assertions there can be little doubt. The two years have been utilized to achieve a consolidation of power and a "coordination" of all existing social institutions which have apparently made the Nazis secure from internal attack for a number of years to come. True, a certain amount of open opposition has been encountered, particularly from the churches, but in each case Hitler has had his way without making any substantial concessions. The one serious setback suffered on the political front was the internecine strife which led to the blood bath of June 30 and the subsequent disarming and virtual disbandment of the once powerful Storm Troops. Even this appears to have been accomplished without appreciably weakening Hitler's hold on the masses of the German people.

On the economic front the evidence is somewhat contradictory but distinctly less favorable to the Nazis. While they boast of having reduced unemployment from approximately 6,000,000 in February, 1933, to 2,350,000 in November, 1934, the actual gain, after making allowance for the

number absorbed by work camps or otherwise employed at subnormal wages and the women and young people arbitrarily removed from the register, is believed to be less than half as large. It is true that the index of industrial activity has risen from 65 to 86 during this period, but this has been due largely to the expansion of the iron-and-steel industry and other enterprises engaged in "preparing for armament equality." Moreover, there are many indications that re-employment and increased business activity have been bought at a price which threatens to be exorbitant. The expansion of credit necessary to finance Hitler's rehabilitation program has tended to boost German prices above the world level, with catastrophic effect on the Reich's balance of payments. For the twelve months of 1934 German exports were 15 per cent less than in 1933, while imports—despite rigid restrictions—increased 5 per cent, transforming a favorable trade balance of 667,000,000 marks in 1933 into a deficit of 283,000,000 in 1934. This contrasted with a favorable balance of 1,072,000,000 marks in the year prior to Hitler's accession to power. Even after making allowance for the relief gained through the moratorium on foreign debts, the deficit in Germany's balance of payments for 1934 is estimated to be more than 600,000,000 marks, which can be met only by a ruthless reduction of industrial costs or further restriction of imports. Of the two possibilities, the drift is clearly toward self-sufficiency, with an accompanying reduction in living standards.

At home the price of Hitler's program of public works and war preparation has been paid primarily by the working class. Nominal wages have remained stable or declined slightly, in the face of a rise in the cost of living which is shown in official figures to be over 5 per cent and is reputed to be nearer 15 per cent. Total payrolls have not increased as rapidly as employment, indicating a decline in per capita wages.

It is not surprising, however, that Hitler's main defeats should have been encountered in the international sphere. Ballyhoo and pageantry were never calculated to be particularly effective when dealing with rival powers. The vote in the Saar plebiscite stands as the one conspicuous success achieved outside the boundaries of the Reich, and this was doubtless due to the thoroughly German outlook of the Saarlanders. Even in Austria, which is only slightly less German, the Nazis have fumbled every opportunity which has presented itself. In addition, they have alienated the countries which were formerly friendly to the Reich's desire for treaty revision. Alarmed by reckless Nazi statements regarding the necessity for expansion to the East, the Soviet Union has been forced into a defensive agreement with France. The recent Franco-Italian pact completed the disintegration of the former revisionist bloc and left the Reich even more isolated than in 1917.

Let no one jump to the conclusion, however, that foreign hostility is likely to weaken Hitler's hold on the German people. Dictators long since discovered that the best way of strengthening their position at home is through the unscrupulous exploitation of anti-foreign feeling. The spectacle of declining exports may yet force a shift in policy, but it will not provoke an uprising against Nazi rule. This does not mean, of course, that the Germans have an insatiable appetite for such inanities as are quoted elsewhere in this issue. High-powered political evangelism may serve as the

stock in trade of a party struggling to achieve power, but it becomes merely ridiculous when utilized by a party in power to cover up its shortcomings. The so-called spiritual awakening is, after all, little more than a frenzy of nationalistic emotion which can scarcely be expected to endure. Already we find Hitler depending less on propaganda and more on the army as the basis of his rule. This tendency may be interpreted as a first sign of approaching decay, but for the time being it represents unquestioned power.

Hunting for Hawaii

WE have discovered a game especially designed for unhappy Americans who sit in the dentists' waiting-rooms confronted with one extraction and a half-hour of leisure. It is called Hunting for Hawaii and can be played by one or more people with almost any magazine. In last week's issue of *The Nation* Leslie Ford outlined the campaign of publicity masquerading as non-advertising matter by which the Pan-Pacific Press Bureau, in behalf of the Hawaiian sugar planters, is attempting to defeat the Jones-Costigan Act by asserting that Hawaii is part of the United States. We had just sent the magazine to press with its burden of exposure and were attempting to forget about Hawaii and the chicanery of sugar planters when we sank into a waiting-room chair and picked up *House and Garden* for January. Hawaiian Adventure in Houses and Gardens ran the title of the leading article, by Margaret McElroy. We quote three sentences:

... I saw a decorating idea on the outside of the hotel that could well be transplanted to houses in other sunny portions of the United States. ... Two pages of this smart Hawaiian furniture will appear in the next issue of *House and Garden*. ... Decoration in Honolulu—this westernmost city of the United States—is as varied and exciting as the gardens.

It should be added that the February issue did contain two pages of smart Hawaiian furniture. It also contained a smart full-page advertisement, in gorgeous colors, outlining the delights of a Hawaiian vacation. In *Harper's Bazaar* for January Robert Mack describes the "Tang of Hawaii" in glowing sentences. In fact his language is so other-worldly that this sentence in his penultimate paragraph seems somewhat incongruous.

Although [these islands] are part of the United States, none of our jangle is evident.

It is a very short article, although the photographs are large and beautiful. In the same issue is a quarter-page advertisement of Hawaiian pineapple juice, not in color.

House Beautiful for January contains an article by George Tichenor called Invitation to Hawaii, in which he, too, ingenuously refers to "the Hawaiian Islands—the southernmost point of the United States." Our game was interrupted at this point, but we hope we have indicated its fascination. We urge our readers to take it up—and to the one who collects the largest number of statements (not labeled advertisements) that Hawaii is part of the United States we will present a large Hawaiian pineapple handsomely engraved.

Issues and Men

On a "Pollyanna Optimism"

THE writer of this series has again been accused, in one of the numerous letters that come to him in praise or criticism of his writings, of indulging in a "Pollyanna optimism." He has been urged to "wake out of his Rip Van Winkle sleep" and realize some of the hard facts of life—"that there is no Santa Claus, and that babies do not come by means of storks." Well, the complaint is not new; curiously enough, I am always being accused of being either a complete and hopeless pessimist or a doddering and rapidly aging optimist. I never seem to occupy any middle ground in the estimation of my critics.

None the less, I want once more to subject myself to denunciation as an impossible optimist by pointing out as a basis for cheer and encouragement, certain facts, certain events that happened within one week, in a stupid and almost hopeless world, which ever since 1914 has seemed bent upon suicide. Here they are. President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress asking adoption of his plan for permanent unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and benefits to needy mothers and children. On the same day Prime Minister Bennett of Canada, through the Governor-General's speech from the throne, announced in Ottawa that reform measures would be submitted to the Canadian Parliament "as part of a comprehensive program designed to remedy the social and economic injustices now prevailing, and insure to all classes and parts of the country a greater equality in the distribution of the benefits of the capitalist system." The measures proposed relate to unemployment, sickness, and old-age insurance for the worker, minimum-wage and maximum-hour laws, taxation more in conformance with ability to pay, protection of the investing public against exploitation, safeguarding of the consumer and primary producer against unfair trading practices, and regulation of "concentration in production and distribution in the interest of the public."

In addition, on the same day Lloyd George, with the support of Philip Snowden, started his campaign for a New Deal in England. He began by saying: "I take my hat off to the American President because he is a man of rare courage." He added a little later: "President Roosevelt started out with recovery but soon learned that a new order is necessary. Premier Bennett of Canada has made the same discovery." Now I ask—in my best Pollyanna manner—whether three such happenings on a single day do not afford ground for the belief that we are progressing. Of course I realize just what kind of politician Mr. Lloyd George is and always has been, and I find I have a good deal of sympathy with the London *Daily Herald*, which sees little that is radical and only a "small and modest program of reform" in Lloyd George's utterances. They are somewhat ambiguous, these proposals, but can anyone deny that they lead in the right direction? I am realistic enough, too, to know that Premier Bennett has been frightened into his reform plans by the evident threat of a Liberal success in the coming parliamentary elections. But again I say it is extraordinarily stimulating to see the head of the Con-

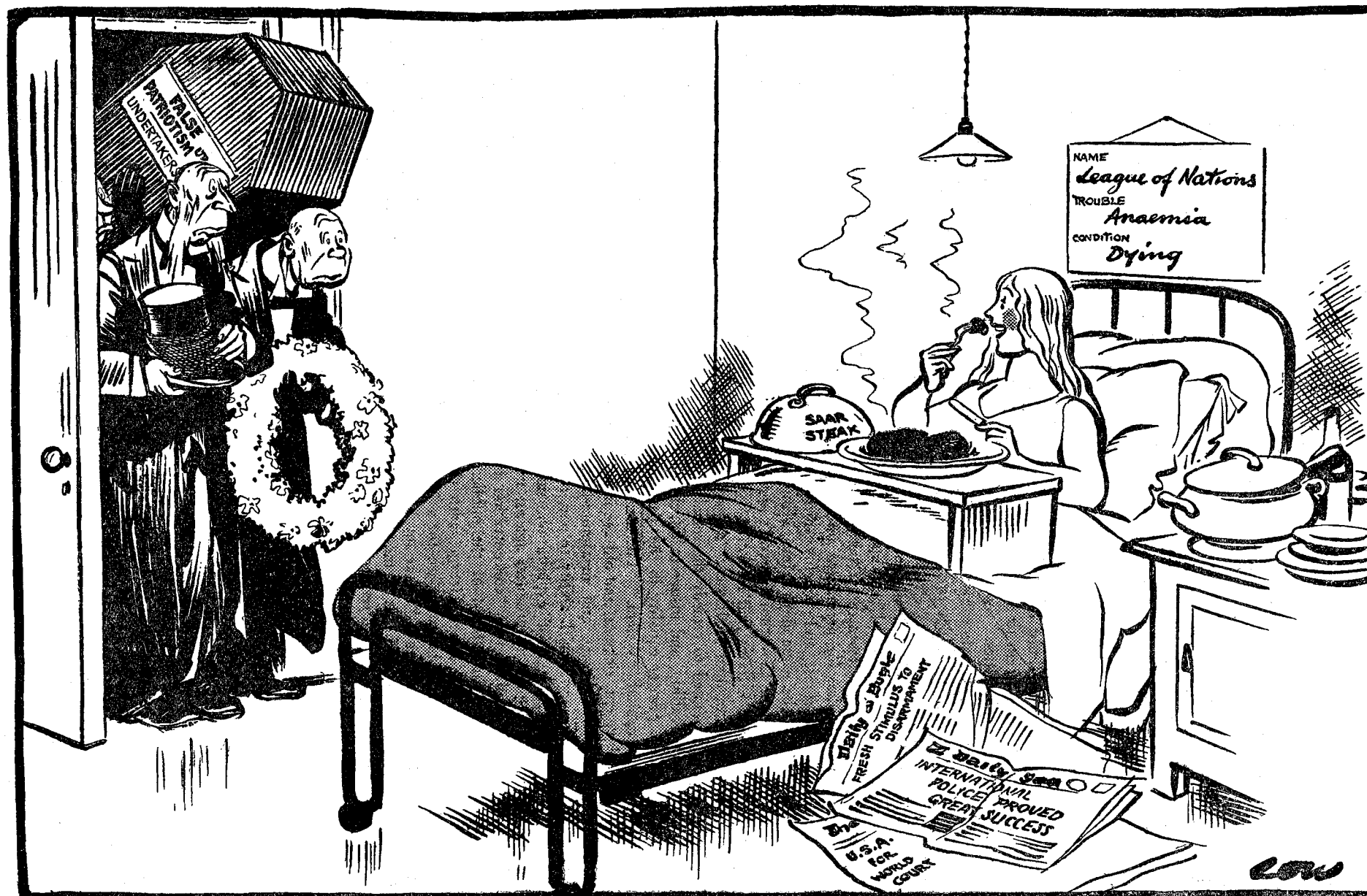
servative Party in Canada taking over a large part of Roosevelt's New Deal, about which our American conservatives have been so exercised, and proposing to enact it into law for the benefit of the people. I don't care a fig for the Premier's motives, nor shall I stop to measure exactly the amount of progress and social justice that his program promises. I am content to record that he is orienting Canada along new lines and bringing some cheer to the masses.

And similarly as to President Roosevelt's proposals. I know that they are less than half a loaf. To all social workers and students of our present conditions they are disappointing. The idea of suggesting only a \$4,900,000 appropriation for unemployment insurance in the fiscal year 1936 and on the same day asking of Congress an immediate appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the construction of a giant dirigible to cross the Atlantic, when we know how easily these dirigibles can be wrecked! All in all the Roosevelt security program is one of the weakest ever presented in this field in any important country. And yet I am thrilled by it; I am full of enthusiasm and unashamed. For it is a great entering wedge. It establishes the principle of the responsibility of the state for these things. When I look back on all the years that some of us have been advocating the assumption of this responsibility, I feel I have a right to cheer. I never expected to live to see this beginning made in even one field; to have it undertaken in three fields at once is astounding, indeed. It is all the more so if one remembers that there was nothing whatever in President Roosevelt's electoral campaign or in the Democratic platform of 1932 to give us the slightest expectation that he would lead the country in this direction. As one who has always asked for a full loaf in the field of human justice, I propose to have a thoroughly good time when I get a fraction of that loaf, for I know how stupid are nations, how timid are our political leaders, how foolish and worse our big business rulers.

Was it merely an accident that three such programs came out in these countries on the very same day? I don't think so. I believe that these are signs of the turning of the tide. It is certainly proof that three great democratic countries have come to realize that at least in some degree they have got to put their houses in order if they are going to head off the twin menaces of fascism and communism. There is only one way they can do it, and that is by proving that democracy contains within itself the power to remove the monstrous mass of special privilege, injustice, and economic inequality which has produced such gross evils as to make many men doubt the ability of the democratic system to grapple with modern capitalism and the machine age. Not rejoice at this? Why, anyone who doesn't is no friend to democracy or humanity.

Bruce Garrison Villard

A Cartoon by LOW



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SITTING UP AND TAKING NOURISHMENT.

The Hitlerites on Hitlerism

Quotations from the Nazi Press

Compiled by JOHN GUNTHER

Religion

CHRIST cannot possibly have been a Jew. I don't have to prove that scientifically. It is a fact.—DR. GOEBBELS, Minister of Propaganda.

Hitler is a new, a greater, and a more powerful Jesus Christ.—ALOIS SPANIOL, leader of the Nazis in the Saar.

The Pope is a Jew whose real name is Lippmann.—*Völkische Beobachter*, official Nazi newspaper.

Though their historical forms come from the Orient, all religions are derived from German monotheism, because the Nordic race originated religion.—PROFESSOR HERMANN HOLLANDER, Nazi theologian.

Adolf Hitler is the real Holy Ghost.—DR. KERRL, chairman of the Prussian Diet.

Roman Catholics are the black vultures of German nationalism and the drummers of discord in the German nation. We will not stop until we have scratched them out of the lives of the German people.—STORM TROOP LEADER AMMERLAHN.

The creator of mankind appeared 2,000 years ago in the form of Christ. Today God reveals himself to the German people again in the form of Hitler.—*Welt des Kaufmanns*, trade paper.

In its newly begun chapter of history, the German people has elected Adolf Hitler as its champion before God.—DR. FRANK, Reichscommissar for Justice.

Art

When I hear the word "culture," I pick up my revolver.—HANS JOHST, president of the poet's academy.

Morals

National Socialism welcomes everything that tends to maintain the race on a healthy Aryan standard. It is quite immaterial whether the children are legitimate or illegitimate.—*Deutsche Textil-Arbeiter*, trade journal.

The Germans have no feeling of guilt or that they are born sinners. Even if the German sins he does not lose direct connection with God.—PROFESSOR FREDERICK HAUER, of Tübingen University.

I treasure an ordinary prostitute above a married Jewess.—DR. GOEBBELS, Minister of Propaganda.

Phonetics

Generally speaking, the Nordic race alone can emit sounds of untroubled clearness, whereas among non-Nordic men and races the pronunciation is impure, the individual sounds are more confused and like the noises made by animals, such as barking, snoring, sniffing, squeaking.

That birds can learn to talk better than other animals is explained by the fact that their mouths are Nordic in

structure—that is, high, narrow, and short-tongued. The shape of the Nordic gum allows a superior movement of the tongue.—HERMANN GAUCH, in "Neue Grundlagen der Rassenforschung."

Foreign Affairs

Our Brown Shirts saved France from bolshevism, and even now with its Stavisky scandal and Paris street riots, things are not in order there.—DR. GOEBBELS, Minister of Propaganda.

No land in Europe is so dominated by Jews as England is, and yet England hardly realizes it. Queen Victoria carefully guarded the documents that purported to prove her descent from King David. . . . For many years the highest government appointments have been held by Jews. Among the great newspapers in Jewish hands are the *Daily Welsh* [sic] and the *Sunday* [sic].—*Der Stürmer*, Nürnberg.

Germany must no longer be the world's spittoon.—PRINCE AUGUST WILHELM, grandson of the ex-Kaiser.

Anthropology

If non-Nordics are more closely allied to monkeys and apes than to Nordics, why is it possible for them to mate with Nordics and not with apes? The answer is this. It has not been proved that non-Nordics cannot mate with apes.—HERMANN GAUCH, *op. cit.*

War and Peace

From St. Stephen's Church in Vienna to the Strasbourg cathedral in Lorraine, from the ancient church of the Teutonic Knights in Riga, the chimes do not ring out in unison with these bells of the German cathedral of Aachen. The work is not yet finished. The eagle does not yet stretch its wings from Aachen to Vienna, from the gates of Burgundy to the German sea in the Near East, from the Alps to the coast. But the work will be finished.—VON LUNINCK, provincial governor of the Rhineland.

The true citizen of the Reich believes with fiery zeal and faith that the German Reich has been recreated in its purest and most perfect form, and that we Germans will once more place our seal and stamp on the peoples of the world.—JOSEF WEHNER, in "Das Unsterbliche Reich."

For the church, the word "peace" does not necessarily mean the opposite of "war." We have been too much a church of peace.—REICHSBISHOP DR. MÜLLER, head of the German Christian Church.

Pacifism is cowardice on principle—not a theory of life but a defect in character.—The late CAPTAIN RÖHM.

It must be thoroughly understood that our lost lands will never be won back by solemn appeals to the good Lord, nor by pious hopes in the League of Nations, but only by the force of arms. . . . Almighty God, bless our arms!—ADOLF HITLER, "Mein Kampf."

Philology

The name "Goebbels" calls to mind a magnificent trait in German life—hospitality and generosity. "Goebbels" is a diminutive derived from the verb "geben" (give). . . . It is remarkable that the name "Görling" includes the syllable "ker" or "ger," which means the lance of the great God Thor.

"Röhm" comes from the ancient "hroum" or "glory." "Frick" comes from an ancient German word meaning "security." The name of the new Minister of Justice, Frank, means "free and capable."—E. SCHMIDT FALK, in the *Völkische Beobachter*.

History

Frederick the Great was the first Nazi.—DR. SCHACHT, president of the Reichsbank.

Result of new research: Jesus was Aryan on both parents' sides.—New Nazi pamphlet, "Die Herkunft Jesu."

An Adolf Hitler comes only once in history.—DR. FRANK, Reichscommissar for Justice.

Jews

The Jew means the same to the white races morally as plague, consumption, and syphilis mean to humanity hygienically.—WILHELM KUBE, one of the pioneers of the Nazi movement, in *Westfälische Landes-Zeitung*, May 21, 1934.

You must follow the example of Dr. Goebbels when a Jew chances to address a remark to you. First, act as if you do not hear him and gaze over his head as if looking for the distant land of Canaan. If he repeats the remark, look him straight in the eye and say nothing. If that is not sufficient and he addresses you a third time, inspect him slowly from head to foot as if he were a strange and curious animal.—Instructions in *Der Angriff*, official Nazi organ.

The Jews are a nation of outcasts. Crime is their calling.—*Der Stürmer*, Nürnberg.

References have been cropping up from time to time charging that the British Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, is Jewish. This must stop. Simon is not a Jew.—Order of Ministry of Propaganda.

It [Judaism in theaters, etc.] was pestilence, spiritual pestilence, worse than the Black Death.—ADOLF HITLER, "Mein Kampf."

Pedagogy

Throwing the grenades was rather fatiguing, but it amused us very much. The lesson lasted an hour. We were given wooden imitations of hand grenades weighing 800 grams. We were told just how to handle them and how best to throw them from all positions.—Letter from a member of the Hitler Youth in Dortmund *General Anzeiger*.

"Attention! Eyes right! Forward march!" A four-year-old boy was leading two three-year-olds in the correct formation of the Storm Troops. . . . In German youth the spirit of the soldier, always latent, has awakened.—Frankfort *Nachrichten*.

We begin with the child as soon as he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think, he gets a little flag put in his hand, then follows the school, the Hitler Jugend, the S. A., and military training. We do not let him go; and

when all this is past, then comes the Arbeitsfront and takes him up again and doesn't let him go till the grave, whether he likes it or not.—DR. ROBERT LEY, chief of Nazi trade unions.

Medicine

If what we have done here is insanity, then insanity becomes me.—GENERAL GÖRING to a conference of the foreign press.

Sport

The German chess league sends its patron, Dr. Goebbels, reverent greetings and vows its cooperation in the creation of the German national community.—HERR ZANDER, chess leader.

The idea of German gymnastics is aimed not only at the growth of the individual but deliberately at the culture of pan-Germanism.—FOREIGN MINISTER BARON NEURATH.

Science

Mathematics is a heroic science which reduces chaos to order; National Socialism has the same task and demands the same qualities; thus the spiritual connection between them.—Conference of Berlin Mathematicians.

The centrifugal handwriting of the Aryan race and the tendency to write up the page is a sign of creative and expansionist force. . . .—*General Anzeiger*, Berlin.

Proper breathing is a means of acquiring heroic national mentality. The art of breathing was formerly characteristic of true Aryanism and known to all Aryan leaders. . . . Let the people again practice the old Aryan wisdom.—Berlin *Weltpolitische Rundschau*.

Economics

Economic life is derived from labor and not from capital or credit. Certainly not from credit. If it was derived from credit, why, then, did God hand Adam a spade when he turned him out of the garden of Eden, and not a home-loan bank?—STAATSKOMMISSAR DR. LIPPERT.

Justice

If any persons offer resistance to the national revolution, these fools and criminals will be extirpated.—DR. WAGNER, former Bavarian Minister of Justice.

The consideration of political factors ought to be the essential condition in every trial.—DR. ALFRED ROSENBERG, head of the foreign-affairs section of the Nazi Party.

Women

The absence of all-round abilities in women is directly to be attributed to the fact that woman is vegetative.

Actually in their deepest consciousness these emancipated females want nothing else than the chance to live at the expense of man.—DR. ROSENBERG.

Miscellaneous

The idea of National Socialism is an accomplishment of the human soul that ranks with the Parthenon, the Sistine Madonna, and the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven.—DR. ROSENBERG.

Dr. Ludwig Cohn, after twenty-five years of service in caring for the blind in Lower Silesia—Dr. Cohn has himself been blind since early youth—has been dismissed from his post because he is not an Aryan.—Breslau newspaper.

"There Goes God!"

The Story of Father Divine and His Angels

By CLAUDE McKAY

THE most African characteristic of Harlem, after the color of its people, is the multitude of amazing cults. Native African churches (so-called), groups of Negro-Jews, and a host of straight Christian and revival sects pullulate in Harlem. To say that there is a cult to every block would be no exaggeration.

It is through religion, more than any other channel, that primitive African emotions find expression in our modern civilization. Indoors and along the pulpit pavements of Harlem, black men and women, some singularly robed, ecstatically prance and reel and writhe with a fervor that is tolerated simply because their exhibitions bear the label of religion. No Negro cabaret or Negro theater could permit the display of such very African antics.

Returning to Harlem after three years spent in North Africa, I had a queer, topsy-turvy sensation when I mingled with folk who were so similar physically to those of North Africa (and from the same cause—miscegenation) but in spirit so different, though they have precisely the same strenuous preoccupation with religion. My arrival in Harlem coincided with a big religious parade. The streets were massed with marching people, led by bands of music, shouting, singing, bearing banners proclaiming, "Father Divine Is God," "God Almighty Is Father Divine." Automobiles loaded with enthusiastic disciples were bright with pennants praising Father Divine. Spectators jammed the pavements. Excited black and brown faces, framed in apartment windows, beamed down on the scene. Suddenly an airplane droned through the clouds, and looking up the people shouted: "God! God! There goes Father! Father Divine is God! The true and living God." Never had I seen such excitement in Harlem except in the days of Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement.

Father Divine is God! With that one phrase Father Divine stands out above all the other leaders and their cults. God, who was invisible to all before, is now personified in him. He has created "Kingdoms" of Heaven in Harlem and elsewhere. "He is sweet, so sweet," chant his "angel" followers, "God, so sweet, Father Divine." According to them Father Divine is the source of all things. He gives his "angels" work, health, food, happiness, prosperity—everything. Accepting nothing, he gives all, being God.

Father Divine was a name unknown to the large public a little more than two years ago. As the leader of a holy-rolling kind of black-and-white cult, he was known only in Sayville, Long Island. There Father Divine had acquired property, upon which he had built a house. The house was called a "kingdom." He had lived there for about ten years. Actually he was supposed to be in retirement after many years of preaching. But some of his faithful white and colored disciples, mainly from New York, continued to visit him, eating, sleeping, and worshipping in his house. As their numbers increased, their presence dis-

turbed the respectable white residents, and Father Divine was prosecuted for maintaining a public nuisance. That colored and white persons of both sexes were united under a Negro leader seemed particularly to incense the presiding judge. In his preliminary examination of Father Divine he laid special emphasis upon that fact.

Meanwhile the case had attracted wide attention, especially among Negroes, because of its white-with-black feature. A clever Negro lawyer with some political influence offered his services free to Father Divine. In Harlem his followers organized large protest meetings. At one of these meetings, held at the Rush Memorial Baptist Church, a leading disciple exhorted the assembled congregation to hold together and be not dismayed, for their Father Divine would sentence the judge to death if the judge dared to sentence him to prison.

The court was unable to elicit anything about the antecedents of Father Divine, since he insisted that he had been divinely projected into existence and had no record of his life. Thereupon the judge committed him to jail, to obtain further information and to have his mental condition determined by a psychiatrist. When the case came up for final trial, the judge sentenced Father Divine to a year in prison and \$500 fine. Curiously, three days after the sentence the judge died suddenly. He was very old and had been stricken by heart disease. To the Divine disciples the hand of their Father had struck the judge dead. They even reported that Father Divine had said that he regretted having to make an example of the judge. The news spread through the country.

Father Divine's attorney appealed the sentence. The verdict was reversed by the Brooklyn Supreme Court, which ruled that the presiding judge had injected prejudice into the minds of the jurors. Upon being released, Father Divine entered into his apotheosis. Overnight his following had developed into a vast army. The man who had retired to Sayville emerged as God. He came to New York again and thousands flocked to the Rockland Palace to hear him speak.

"Peace!" he cried to them; "Good health, good appetite, prosperity, and a heart full of merriness. I give you all and everything." And his people responded: "God! It is wonderful! I thank you, Father." Such is the essence of the Divine message and the response it calls forth. And so greatly grew that response that Father Divine alone could not handle it as he had done at Sayville. More and greater "kingdoms" had to be created. Father Divine declares, and his followers believe, that he is in all of them at the same time. "I am here and I am there and I am everywhere," he says. "I am like the radio voice. Dial in and you shall always find me."

Fifteen Divine kingdoms are maintained in New York City alone. In fine buildings all. The finest is the former bath premises in 126th Street, now known as the Faithful

Mary Kingdom. Other kingdoms are in Jamaica, Brooklyn, and White Plains, in New Jersey and Connecticut. From Washington, D. C., to Seattle, Washington, centers have been established by Father Divine enthusiasts. Headquarters Kingdom, where Father Divine has office and residence, is in 115th Street. In whichever "kingdom" he eats, Father Divine himself serves his flock. The food goes through his hands before it is served. He pours and passes the coffee and cream in the grand style of a *maître d'hôtel*. And he has more dignity and naturalness doing that than when he is haranguing an audience.

The kingdoms are sanitary and apparently well managed. They pay their way. The secret of their financing is Father Divine's. Rooms are rented to individuals at a dollar a week, but there is more than one person to a room. In the restaurants meals are served for ten and fifteen cents. The food is good and plentiful. A good piece of meat and two vegetables cost ten cents; a piece of cake or ice-cream, five cents; coffee or soft drink, three cents. There are separate kingdoms for men and women. For in the kingdoms sex is proscribed.

The decorative motif of all the kingdoms is the apotheosis of Father Divine. His enlarged photographs dominate the walls. Large posters with black and red lettering proclaim his virtues: "Father Divine is God." "Father Divine is the living Tree of Life, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "We all may take of the words of Father Divine, eat and drink and live forever." Other posters make a queer mélange of social and religious statements. They reveal that Father Divine is aware of social problems and that he has a special approach to them. Framed newspaper clippings advertise Father Divine's letters to firms doing business with him, from which he solicits jobs for his people. Also displayed are letters to the mayor referring to Father Divine's secret service, which is investigating racial and color discrimination and segregation in New York City institutions. One poster reads:

We the Inter-racial, International, Inter-denominational and Inter-religious Coworkers . . . as being called Father Divine's Peace Mission Workers . . . do demand the release through commutation of the life sentence of the Scottsboro boys, and other means of releasing the nine boys. And also we demand freedom, and extermination of the mistreatment of the Jews in Germany and all other countries, and we demand the equal rights and religious liberty according to our Constitution.

I thank you, Father.

Enthusiastic masses of colored people, with a sprinkling of whites, West Indians, and Latin Americans, make up the kingdoms. Women predominate, forming about three-quarters of the whole number. It is largely a middle-aged crowd. No prayers are said at the meetings. Praise has taken the place of prayer in Father Divine's religion. He often quotes: "Prayer is the heart's sincere desire, unuttered or unexpressed." And instead of praying, his people testify, praising and thanking him. Of music and singing and dancing there is no end—a riotous, prancing, antic performance that "it is wonderful" indeed to see and to feel. Loosely the women fling themselves about, with a verve and freedom that would startle a cabaret. They toss up their skirts and contort their limbs, dancing and singing to Father Divine:

I don't know why, I don't know why,
I don't know why you love me so . . .

You put your arms around me and you took me in . . .

With nervous, petulant gestures they turn from the men, the forbidden, and dance extravagantly with one another, colored with colored and colored with white. After they are exhausted from singing and dancing in chorus, they give individual testimony—amazing testimony, whether openly given in the kingdoms or privately related.

At Headquarters Kingdom I saw a little, wiry black man cleave through the jam to reach and kneel a moment against the back of Father Divine's chair. Standing up again with uplifted hand he cried: "Peace—O Father, thank you, Father, for what you have done for me. Father, I used to think I was smart. But I was all wrong and bad. I used to take the Jew man's furniture and then change my address and sell it. But Father, you showed me where I was wicked and I don't do that no more. And I mean to pay back all what I stole. And Father, I used to make the women pay. I was a mean feller, Father. Until I find one woman what was different and wouldn't pay off. And I wanted her, Father. And wanted her that bad I couldn't help falling for her. But I had to take it the way she wanted to give. And she made me go housekeeping together like an honest couple and I changed my ways and worked like a man. Then we both heard about you, Father. And we came to you. And you stopped us from living in sin, thank you, Father, it is wonderful. Peace. And you put me in one kingdom, Father, and put her in another. And you did right, for Father Divine is always right. But, oh, Father, she been coming to my room every night in my dreams. It was powerful awful, Father, and I was afraid and asked you to guide me. I concentrated on your spirit, Father, and last night when I was dreaming she come again and all at once you just descended into the room like a lightning bolt between us. Oh, thank you, Father. It was wonderful."

"It is wonderful!" everybody echoed and joined in singing: "All hail the power of Father's name, let angels prostrate fall."

From a mulatto young woman standing behind Father Divine's chair escaped a frightening yell. "Father, you did call me," she cried, "call me all the way from Seattle. Father, let me confess the truth that I had sinful thoughts about you, sinful, deceitful woman as I am. I imagined that you were just another colored minister. I said, Father can't be so different, he is just another one. For I have lived my life, Father, as a sample and example of a free woman among men and counted my victims. All the long way from Seattle I came, Father, thinking evil. And when I entered your presence and tried to fix you, you fixed me instead. You saw straight through me, Father, the lust that was in me, and you drove it out of me into the Gadarene swine. And, oh, Father, you were God in the place of the man I was looking for. You put your spirit in me and made me pure, one of your 'angels,' Father. I thank you, Father. It is truly wonderful."

California and other points west have supplied most of the white followers. An old man in his sixties said that he had left California doubting that Father Divine could be more than a prophet, because there is a passage from the Bible which says that no man can look upon God and

live. But as soon as he saw Father Divine he was convinced that he was in the presence of God. And he immediately experienced a transformation from a mortal to an angel. He lives now in one of the kingdoms.

The skeptic part of Harlem's population, whatever its opinion of Father Divine, is excited over his success and the financing of it. Unlike other evangelists Father Divine never collects any money at his meetings; he delights in making a mystery about the source of the funds he uses to run his Divine Trust of large, well-appointed kingdoms, cheap restaurants (where hundreds of hungry out-of-work persons are fed free daily), and the splendid buses and automobiles which convey his disciples from kingdom to kingdom. He waxes sharply waggish when inquiries are made. He told a group of white parsons, professors, and students that he got his money from the Treasury in Washington, just like other people. At his meetings he jokes with his followers about "people who want to know where I get my money." "They want to know how I get my money. But you all know I take absolutely nothing." "Right, Father! Yes, Father!" the people cry. "I give everything, because I am omnipotent. I give you plenty of good food, clothes, shelter, work. And you are fat and merry." "Yes, Father! Thank you, Father!" the people shout. "It is wonderful!"

Graciously granted an interview, I could not ask Father Divine how he got his money. His white secretary had explicitly stated to me beforehand: "Father Divine does not accept money from his followers. Rich people interested in his work have offered large sums of money which Father Divine has refused, because he does not want to be limited in the conception of his work." The secretary also intimated that inquiries about the source of his income were annoying to Father Divine. I said that primarily my interest was in Father Divine's work.

In his sumptuous living quarters, African in the gay conglomeration of colors, Father Divine in a large easy-chair appeared like a slumping puppet abandoned after a marionette show. He seemed to have shrunk even smaller than his five feet four, which is not unimpressive when he is acting. He pointed to a seat near him, and said he thought he had said enough at his meetings to give me an idea of his work and mission. I told him that I was interested mainly in his ideas about social problems and inter-racial relations and would like a special pronouncement from him as a Negro leader and pacifist. Father Divine replied: "I have no color conception of myself. If I were representing race or creed or color or nation, I would be limited in my conception of the universal. I would not be as I am, omnipotent."

I said that I accepted his saying that he was above race and color, but because he happened to have been born brown and was classified in the colored group, the world was more interested in him as a Negro. And I asked him what was his plan for the realization of peace and understanding between the masses and the classes. Father Divine said: "I am representative of the universal through the co-operation of mind and spirit in which is reality. I cannot deviate from that fundamental. The masses and the classes must transcend the average law and accept me. And governments in time will come to recognize my law."

I drew his attention to an editorial in the *Daily Worker* referring to the demonstration against war and fascism,

in which the Communists had paraded in company with Father Divine at the head of thousands of his people carrying banners bearing Divine slogans. The editorial was an explanation to critical readers of the necessity of cooperating with Father Divine and his followers, "carrying such strange and foolish placards." Father Divine said that he was always willing to cooperate in his own way with the Communists or any group that was fighting for international peace and emancipation of people throughout the world and against any form of segregation and racial discrimination. But what the Communists were trying to do he was actually doing, by bringing people of different races and nations to live together and work in peace under his will. He had come to free every nation, every language, every tongue, and every people. He did not need the Communists or any other organization, but they needed him. For he had all wisdom and understanding and health and wealth. And he alone could give emancipation and liberty, for he was the victory. I thanked Father Divine for the interview, and he dismissed me with the gift of a pamphlet.

The followers of Father Divine are always ready to testify to his divinity, the glory of the kingdoms, the sweetness of the fellowship, and the wonders of his works. But ask a pertinent question about the Divine finance and immediately they clamp their lips. That is something as taboo with them as it is with Father Divine.

Some cabalistic thing, such as exists in a secret society, may be at the bottom of this. The Divine disciples are called "angels." And Father Divine has said, "Denial of money is Angelship degree." Even those who have ceased to be followers will not discuss it. There is a story of a Negro petty shopkeeper who disappeared taking \$1,500 of his own money. Investigating, his wife discovered him in one of the kingdoms, but without the money. Finally he was persuaded to return home. But neither he nor his wife will discuss the incident or what has become of the money.

Perhaps a clue to the Divine method of finance may be found in Faithful Mary. She was the first disciple of Father Divine. At all his big meetings she sits at his right. In striking contrast to him, her brown-moon face shines with a disarming other-worldliness. She is middle-aged, a fine-fleshed, compact, and balanced motherly woman. She testifies that she had been insane from drink for ten years, had been discharged from hospitals as an incurable. She was living soddently in the gutters of Broome Street in Newark, eating out of garbage cans, when she heard about Father Divine. She concentrated upon him, believing that he was God. He lifted her up and cured her. And now she belongs to God. Faithful Mary's sincerity strikes you; her story is convincing.

Father Divine's little white secretary, who unlike Father Divine does talk about the material side of the Peace Mission, had this to say of Faithful Mary: "She is blessed with the love of the people and they give her great gifts. They have given her houses to be converted into kingdoms, clothes, and automobiles. The largest kingdom in 126th Street was given to her." If Father Divine as God takes absolutely nothing, his first disciple, Faithful Mary, is not like him. And she declares that she belongs to God.

"It is truly wonderful," even as the "angels" of Harlem sing-song, this frantic, prancing expression of black emotionalism in the heart of the great white city.

Taxation in the New Social State

IX. Who Will Pay for the Next War?

By HUGH DALTON

London, January 3

WILL there be another great war? The answer lies with the peoples of the world, in particular with the peoples of the greatest powers. H. G. Wells recently said that if the American, the British, and the Russian peoples thundered in unison, "There shall be peace; woe to the peace-breaker!" there would be no war. Other nations, the vast majority if not all of them, would take up the cry. The power behind peace, both moral and material, would be overwhelming. No gangster government in any continent, no money-grubbing war-mongers in any nation, would risk being overwhelmed. Peace would be secure in our generation and, if our children willed it, in theirs.

I agree with Wells. If another great war comes, it will come because we shall have been too indolent, or too preoccupied, or too mentally immobilized through the influence of false theories to summon up our courage and to speak straight to those who plot against peace. If war comes again, it will come bearing all the newest gifts of science in its hand. Past wars will seem by comparison like innocent children's games. "If that is what the future is going to be like," said the wife of a college president who entertained me in the state of Ohio last spring, "I hope I shan't be here." So might we all hope. Nor let the citizens of the United States count on being able to sit safely between two wide oceans in a future war. Science is fast destroying height and distance. Death will fly fast through the stratosphere in another war. New York will have drawn close to Europe, and the Pacific slope to Asia and the innumerable isles, possible aircraft bases, that lie between.

If another great war comes, how will it be paid for? This is a melancholy minor question for economists to discuss, if on the major question peoples and politicians have given the wrong answer. Every war is paid for while it lasts by applying human labor and ingenuity, land and machines and stocks of goods, to the great purpose in hand. There is a vast diversion of productive forces and of new production from peace aims to war aims. A planned economy springs up, well or ill organized, with one simple object—to win the war. This economy is far simpler in conception than any planned economy of peace time, which must have, whether in Russia or under the New Deal, a multiplicity of objects to be jointly pursued and justly balanced, one against another.

In terms of production, then, the answer to the question is elementary. War is paid for by labor and materials diverted from other uses. The cost of war, objectively, is the mass of useful things, including personal services, which, had there been no war, would have been produced, but whose production war prevents, plus that mass of useful things, including human beings, destroyed by the actual processes of war itself. The cost of war, subjectively, is that immeasurable aggregate of human toil and deprivation, of fatigue and hunger, of freezing cold and blistering heat, of "agony

and bloody sweat," of terror and hatred and moral degradation, which war scatters both among combatants and non-combatants, if indeed this latter historical distinction is not already trampled under foot by the march of science.

But round the garment of production there runs an elaborate financial frill, a decorative pattern of exchange, money, credit, taxes, and the like. With the advance of what we call "civilization," this decoration becomes ever more elaborate. We have left far behind the chaste simplicity of the self-sufficient family homestead. We practice, though often with political reluctance and deliberately imposed obstacles, division of labor, not only nation-wide, but world-wide. The "funds," as we call them, for the conduct of war are obtained partly by open taxation, partly by hidden taxation—through inflation of the currency and the depreciation of money by governmental action—partly by loans. Loans, again, are in part genuine, based on real savings, and in part a pretense, based on inflation of credit and currency. Loans, moreover, are in part internal, raised within the belligerent country, and in part external, raised in other countries, whether classed as "allies," "associates," or "neutrals," willing to lend and trade.

When the war is over, it is already paid for, objectively in terms of material damage and lost production, subjectively in terms of human values. But it is not yet paid for in terms of finance. If ghosts of dead men haunt the battlefields and the hearts of the survivors, so ghosts of dead deeds, of past financial transactions, haunt our economic life and our national budgets. Every belligerent nation staggered out of the last war loaded with debts. All carried increased, and some prodigiously increased, internal debts. Some carried new external debts for services rendered. Some, as part of the price of defeat, carried new external debts, for disservices rendered. These last were called reparation debts. And in every country, victor, vanquished, and neutral alike, some men had grown rich, and some exceedingly rich, through their financial operations during the war. These men were called in England war profiteers.

These debts have dragged us down into the deep depression of the post-war years. Internal debts, in the countries of Continental Europe, have been burned away by inflations. But these have burned away much else as well—the patient savings of a whole generation, the liquid capital which is the life blood of any national economy, and finally, as in Germany, human liberty itself. In England we have escaped inflation only to suffer deflation instead, advised by bankers posing as inspired oracles. Englishmen so far, less wisely than Americans, have had more confidence in the social wisdom of bankers. Deflation has increased intolerably the burden of our internal debt. All our amortization payments out of taxation and all our conversion operations, large though these have been, have hardly offset the adverse effect of deflation on our annual burden. During the war and in the early years of peace the British Labor

Party advocated a frontal attack, without repudiation or social injustice, on our national debt. We proposed, first, a special levy on war fortunes; next, and more far-reaching, a general levy on a graduated scale on the capital value of all fortunes in excess of £5,000, the proceeds to be applied to debt redemption. We claimed that if conscription of life was justified to wage the war, conscription of wealth was justified to wipe away the war debt. Our plan was pronounced by experts to be practicable, and won much support from economists both inside and outside our party. We fought two elections, in 1922 and 1923, principally on this issue. But we were defeated, largely by deliberate misrepresentation of our purposes. Many who opposed us then recognize now, too late, that we were right.

External inter-governmental debts resulting from the war have had many unfortunate international repercussions both in politics and economics. Finally they have perished in the world economic crisis. Elsewhere I have written recently of their fate as follows:

The crisis is washing them all away. The "solemn engagements" of the Germans at Versailles in 1919, of Mr. Baldwin at Washington in 1923, of the French and Italians to the British government in 1925 and 1926, all these and many others like them are swirling down the stream, following, after an interval of some fifteen years, the promissory notes of the last of the Romanovs, which the Bolsheviks, from the first hour of their arrival in power, bluntly refused to honor. As regards war debts to foreign governments, we are all Bolsheviks now. Neat schedules of payments, running on till 1984 or even longer are now only scraps of paper. But for the crisis, and the increasing burden on unbalanced budgets of these tributes fixed in terms of money, this strange system of one-way traffic between state treasuries might have endured a little longer. It is better that the end should have come now. From the hour when the Hoover moratorium, nominally for one year only, was offered to a panic-stricken world at the time of the German credit crisis in 1931, it was obvious that the system was doomed.

However it may be with war debts, the ravages wrought by the war and its distortions of our pre-war structure of demand, supply, and markets are still deeply disturbing the economic life of the world. They are an important part of the causation of the depression, which still holds us in its grip. We are still facing many unsolved problems which derive from the last war.

So much for the past and present. What of the finance of a future war? Of the nature of such a war I have said something already. Some prophesy that it would be short, conducted principally from the air and ending in the early collapse, amid scenes of unparalleled slaughter, destruction, and confusion, of what is pallidly described as the "morale" of one or other of the contending nations or groups of nations. Such prophecies have been made before and have been wrong. The last great war was expected by some high authorities, both military and civilian, to last only a few weeks. It lasted for four and a quarter years in its main theaters. The "morale" of both sides seemed almost indestructible, and they remained almost till the end very evenly matched. It had been prophesied by others, claiming to be economic experts, that a great war must be short because the "fabric of credit" was so delicate that it could not stand the strain. This prophecy, too, was childish wrong. We

cannot count, even in the conditions of almost incredible horror which science has made probable, on a short war. The chief hope, indeed, of shortening it—if we must, at least for the sake of argument, abandon the greater hope of preventing it—is to concentrate an overwhelming force, economic and financial as well as military, against any nation which breaks that universally binding treaty obligation, under the Kellogg Pact, to seek the solution of all differences with its neighbors, of whatever kind, only by peaceful means.

The chance of revolutionary upheaval, in the defeated country even if the war is short, in many countries if it is prolonged, will in my view be vastly greater in the next war than it was in the last. And of the outcome of such an upheaval only a Communist doctrinaire would dream rosy dreams. Beyond the bloody chaos would be only a grim question mark. It is fully possible that civilization as we know it would literally perish and only a handful of survivors continue to exist in a disordered primitive misery. Even if the disaster were far less catastrophic than this, the niceties of finance would vanish into history. The decorative pattern of which I have spoken would be roughly broken up.

The question is sometimes put whether we could not cool men's ardor for war by making war unprofitable for any man, by giving notice that in another war there would be no war profiteers, that all should share and share alike in ill fortune, that conscription of wealth should be part of the initial policy of every belligerent. I have little hope of such a simple solution. It is a false simplification of complex reality to suppose that most men have any ardor for war, until it comes, and patriotic passion enters into them. It is, still more emphatically, a fallacy to suppose that a large number of men plan war in order to enrich themselves. Most men, including so-called "statesmen," drift carelessly into the rapids that suddenly plunge downward into war. They do not steer their boat skilfully or turn aside in time. Their fault is not deliberate wickedness but lack of foresight.

But there are some men and some social groups standing in a separate category. Armament firms are such a group. Concession hunters in weak countries are another. These men pursue a policy which increases the risk of war. The state which desires peace must put its thumb on them. Armament makers live by selling armaments. They make most profit not necessarily when their own country is at war, for then they might be taken over and controlled in the national interest, but when other countries are at war, or when there is a keen fear of war leading to big orders for armaments. And disarmament, even a small instalment of disarmament, may ruin them. All the world owes a great debt to Senator Nye and his colleagues for their most revealing inquiry into this most subversive private industry. The British Labor Party stands for its suppression. Whatever armaments are needed should be manufactured in the states' own arsenals and dockyards, yielding no private profit to any man. The economic causes of war are a much larger field of study. I hope that in the United States and in other countries that study will be eagerly pursued, and that the results of it will lead to bold and decisive action by governments before it is too late.

[The tenth and last article on *Taxation in the New Social State will be A Program for the Future*, by Professor Paul Studenski, who planned and edited the entire series. It will appear in an early issue.]

Richberg Misinforms the President

Washington, January 28

A CERTAIN amount of sympathy is due the President for the inaccuracies in his letter to Chairman Biddle of the Labor Relations Board. The President cannot be expected to know even the simple fact of how many labor tribunals are set up under the codes. If someone tells him that out of 550 codes "a very small number—probably less than five—contain provisions for the consideration and final adjudication of complaints of violation of labor provisions" he accepts the statement as true. In this case the informant was Donald Richberg, who really ought to know. The letter shows convincing signs in other parts of having been drafted by Mr. Richberg. Now Mr. Richberg, who goes up and down the country talking authoritatively about labor policy and the NRA, ought not to say "probably" about anything so vital as a labor board, and should know all about the fewer than five boards he mentions. Since he has a definite theory that the Biddle board had no right to take jurisdiction in the Jennings case, he at least ought to make sure that the law on the matter is clear enough for the NRA and its boards to agree on it.

Newspaper correspondents have been harrying NRA authorities to find out which five boards or fewer the President was referring to. And NRA authorities—without mentioning names—are completely in the dark. They have no idea what the President meant or what Mr. Richberg could have had in mind in so informing the President. For the fact is that there are twelve codes which provide for such boards. There are, in addition, four boards created by the President, longshoremen, steel, petroleum, and textiles; and a fifth board like them is the automobile board, usually considered a Presidential board, though the order creating it was actually signed by General Johnson. In addition there are seven boards established by administrative order, that is, by the NRA itself, and there are three bipartisan code authorities. So there are twenty-seven boards in all, twelve of them set up under the codes. The code boards are worth listing:

Bituminous coal, Newspapers, Construction, Infant's and children's wear, Household goods, storage and moving, Electro-stereotyping, Photo-engraving, Printing-ink manufacture, Textile-print roller engraving, Trucking, Importing, Cigars.

The greater part of these twelve are unimportant, and Mr. Richberg may have meant "less than five" important boards. But this still does not make the letter into good sense. There are just two important boards, bituminous coal and newspapers, but they do not live up to the description in the remainder of the President's letter. The President, in telling the Biddle board to keep hands off, wrote:

Whenever, in an approved code of fair competition, provision is made for the consideration and adjudication of complaints of violation of the labor provisions of the code, and where a committee, board, or other tribunal has been established under the code to which an appeal can be taken and which is empowered to make a final and enforceable decision of such complaints . . .

The letter certainly leaves the impression that there is

a working system of boards rendering "final and enforceable decisions" which must be permitted to function. In the bituminous-coal board the labor machinery defined by the bituminous-coal code (drafted by employers and employees in conjunction) in the main perpetuates the machinery existing before there was a code. It consists of six regional boards made up of one representative of each side and an impartial chairman now appointed by the NRA. Relatively few disputes ever reach the regional boards, since most are settled in direct negotiations at the mines. Appeal may be taken from a regional board to a national board consisting of the six regional chairmen. In about fifteen months the national board has held two meetings. All its decisions have been accepted, and the NLRB has never once contemplated dealing with coal cases. Here is a system of voluntary arbitration which, being between two parties of approximately equal strength and accepted in good faith, is working. But since the Biddle board has never "horned in" here or even thought of it, the President could only be referring in his letter to the Newspaper Industrial Board.

The affairs of this board are incredibly tangled. It is not, to begin with, a board operating under a code in the writing of which employees had any voice. It was drafted by the publishers, and the bipartisan industrial board, which according to the President is "empowered to make a final and enforceable decision," has spent most of its life in deadlock. It is deadlocked over the fundamental question whether the board has jurisdiction over Section 7-a disputes, the employees naturally maintaining that it has. It is deadlocked on its own powers to bring in a "final" decision. The employees maintain that since they were not consulted in drafting the code they are entitled to appeal. Richberg agrees with the publishers that there is no appeal. But the general counsel of the NRA, Blackwell Smith, who argued the Jennings case before Mr. Biddle and his colleagues, did not support his stand. Instead, he argued that the NLRB should not intervene until the Newspaper Industrial Board had come to a decision, when it could review the case on appeal. The board deadlocks on nearly everything as a kind of conditioned reflex. So resort must be had to a neutral chairman. Under its rules the board should maintain a panel of five of these; at present it has one, Judge Fred C. Gause of Indianapolis, and never has had more than three.

This board, which the President gives us to understand should be allowed to work without the interference of the NLRB, has had before it thirty-five cases. Definite action was taken in five of them, in every case by resort to a neutral chairman. Wage rates established by local arbitration were reduced in three cases by the chairman. They were increased in one. The Toniatti case, the only Newspaper Guild case ever decided, is the fifth instance of action. Toniatti was ordered reinstated. But his publisher, Generoso Pope, it must be noted, was not a member of the Newspaper Publishers' Association which drafted the code and named the employer members of the board. The Toniatti case likewise came up after the Jennings case, at the time the publishers were trying to persuade the White House to throw the NLRB out of the picture, and when they had an in-

terest in demonstrating their "fairness" and indeed the very possibility of functioning.

The publishers on this board wish it to be an instrument of compulsory arbitration. Hence they claim the right to cite any of their employees before the board whenever there is a controversy or a dispute. They also claim that in any such case the decision shall be final. The employees hold that since they were not parties to the code, jurisdiction can only be by mutual agreement. But they also hold that the publishers, having set up the machinery and the terms on which it shall operate, are bound to arbitrate if the employees so propose. They believe that the publishers' claim to the right to cite any of their employees is compulsory arbitration.

A further evidence of the paralysis on the board is in the matter of 7-a cases. Here the rules of the board are that the admissibility of evidence requires a majority vote, after the chairman decides whether the facts in the case warrant action. The chairman is a nominee of the publishers' association, so the cards are stacked against employees to begin with in such cases; and even if this publisher-chairman recommends action, other employer members can block it.

This is the confusion as it existed at the time of the President's letter. The NRA at least, and probably the President, was aware of it. For today the newspaper board is being summoned by the NRA, and an effort is to be made to put it to work, which must entail the adoption of new rules. It remains to be seen whether in giving the newspaper publishers their pound of flesh—near the heart of effective mediation as symbolized by the NLRB—the President exacted from them a pledge to accept a reform of their own board. Even if he did, this would not meet the issues raised in the Presidential letter, for he obviously looks toward a system of compulsory arbitration with no appeal save on questions of law, and sets himself up as the final judge.

The question naturally arises as to why the Biddle board did not resign on receiving the President's letter. A good deal of resignation talk was in the air, and I can say that Mr. Biddle himself, at least, did not offer his resignation. He was importuned by liberal Senators and labor officials not to resign. The hope was held out to him that the real and free status of the board might be established by legislation. Certainly Senator Wagner believes that his labor bill will pass Congress. He withdrew one similar to it in the last session at the request of the President, and there is a growing number of skeptics who are not convinced that the President will back the Wagner bill, and who doubt that Senator Wagner will defy party discipline to fight for a bill if the President frowns.

Furthermore, the President has no intention of letting the Biddle board barge into the automobile crisis. His letter does not technically forbid it, but it was a sign that the Biddle board will have to heed. The A. F. of L. has finally withdrawn from the automobile labor board—after a much too long delay—which leaves it without any board for the appeal of collective-bargaining cases except the Biddle board. Continuation of the code is being negotiated and the A. F. of L. might consent to it if the jurisdiction of the NLRB were to be one of the concessions. If the negotiations fail, the Biddle board may be forced to accept the automobile cases whether the President likes it or not. After all, it is a legal board, set up by executive order defining its jurisdiction. The President in writing a letter does not alter that jurisdiction; he can do that only by an executive order. The

Biddle board under the previous order has wide powers. It may review cases coming from other boards on the request of such boards, or when such boards have a difference of opinion, or whenever it deems that a review would serve the public interest. The President's letter requests the board not to act in cases from industries which have boards provided by their codes. The automobile board was established outside the code, so even if it existed, the NLRB could still hear automobile cases on appeal and not violate the President's letter. But the automobile board does not exist any more in law, since it was set up for an unlimited time by agreement between two parties, one of whom has now withdrawn from the contract. How, if the automobile workers appeal to the board, it could legally refuse to hear them is difficult to understand. And it might be that the Biddle board would agree to take jurisdiction. It might also be that the President thereupon would issue a full-fledged executive order forbidding a hearing of automobile cases. And then the board might resign, and the country might see what has become of the enforcement of collective bargaining under the New Deal.

It must be said in conclusion that the President probably will take some step this week, perhaps in a public statement or another letter, to mitigate the bad effects of his first letter to the Biddle board. It would be only natural that he should want to do so. He has in this episode publicly bent knees to the newspaper publishers and offended organized labor beyond the safety point of offense even to the semi-impotent. Incidentally he has chosen to play with the publishers rather than with the men who write the news. In a sense this means that he has chosen between the friendship of the editorial writers (though not of Mr. Hearst's) and that of the reporters and interpreters of news. It is not a realistic choice. The men who write the news are more powerful in molding public opinion than those who write the views.

R. G. S.

In the Driftway

OF all the senses, that of smell is the most mysterious and affecting. City dwellers draw deep breaths of fresh country air when they are free from their gasoline-laden atmosphere; the earth after the first thaw sends forth an odor composed probably of rotting damp vegetation but suggesting spring itself; sensitive New Yorkers shrink from the subway scent of garlic; and we are told that members of each race are offended by the smell of another.

* * * * *

THE Drifter is brought to these thoughts by reading in the works of Mrs. M. Grieve, whose "Modern Herbal" has been one of his bibles since its publication. There is probably no one who knows more about plants than she does; in the presence of such an expert, the Drifter puts aside all his prejudices and his tendencies to irrelevance, and merely learns. It pleases Mrs. Grieve to write about flowers of sweet scent and their employment in perfumery. Her pupil thereupon learns that perfume comes from the Latin words meaning "through" and "smoke"; the first perfumes were probably woods and plants burned for worship.

But perfumery for personal use is almost as old. It was old in the heyday of Greece; from Persia, from Arabia, from Babylon perfumes came, and sweet-scented plants were strewn underfoot or dropped from overhead or laid between bed-covers or done up in a little box and worn on a chain around the neck. At the great religious processions and festivals of the ancient Egyptians "all guests were anointed, and during the entertainment fresh flowers were used in great profusion—chaplets of lotus decorated the necks of the guests, garlands of crocus and saffron encircled the winecup, floral wreaths were hung all around the room, and over and under the table were strewn various fragrant flowers."

* * * * *

NOR was this merely a charming way of scenting and decorating a festival. Many scents were thought then and are believed now to have definite therapeutic and otherwise useful properties. We have only to recollect that we use camphor to drive away moths; that mosquitoes abhor citronella, cats love catnip, and—this the Drifter learned for the first time—rats cannot abide peppermint to realize how practical a part scent plays in our lives. Our custom of sending flowers to the sick probably arose not from a desire to beautify the sick chamber, but from a much more ancient desire to drive away pestilential vapors, as, indeed, to a certain extent even in our antiseptic day some of them do. A hundred years ago in England rue was placed in front of the judges in the assizes to protect them from jail fever, and the bailiff in certain English counties now who knows that it is the custom to present his Honor with a bunch of flowers at the opening of court probably is not aware of the time-honored reason for it. Like many other customs which have come down to us from antiquity, the use of sweet flowers and plants has dwindled from a powerful ritual to a pretty gesture. In the sickroom now we believe the bouquet less important than soap and water and iodoform; we wash our clothes and our persons before adding scent (instead of forgoing the washing, as was done in Queen Elizabeth's day, when the use of perfume was at its height in England). The Drifter has long suspected that all this washing, all this deifying of soap and tooth powder, may well be a serious mistake. Suetonius reports that the Emperor Nero spent the equivalent of \$100,000 for flowers at a festival, and that on another occasion he caused the entire surface of Lake Lucina to be strewn with roses. With such a powerful adjunct to sweetness, it did not matter whether Nero washed himself or not—although he probably did. What we undoubtedly need in our subways is not more soap but more roses.

THE DRIFTER

Two Fellowships

In the hope of encouraging writers of promise, Houghton Mifflin Company are offering two Literary Fellowships for 1935, each carrying an award of \$1,000 apart from subsequent royalties. All applications must be received by May 1 and evidence must be submitted that the candidates are persons of unusual creative ability and personal integrity. They will be expected also to submit samples of past work, published or unpublished. Houghton Mifflin Company will expect to publish the works for which the awards are given, upon their successful completion, on the usual royalty basis. Further information may be obtained by writing to the company at 2 Park Street, Boston.

Correspondence

The Apra Movement of Peru

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Few persons in the United States are as thoroughly qualified as Dr. Ernest Gruening to review a book dealing with Latin America. His conclusions toward the end of his review of my "Fire on the Andes," in which he treats of the Apra movement led by Haya de la Torre of Peru, are most interesting.

But I feel that to make his point he has slightly distorted my position by emphasizing my critical comments on Apra, thus putting me in the position of attacking it while he rises in its defense. He has confused my analysis with condemnation.

As a matter of fact, I stated that Haya de la Torre is the first great popular leader of national scope who has arisen during Peru's independent history, and that Aprismo, whether ultimately successful or not, is the beginning of a new Peru. I did not argue that Apra is a fascist movement. It is the most defined movement of revolutionary nationalism in Latin America, and I pointed out why such movements in semi-colonial countries defy the political tags of more industrialized countries. As I stated, it is a curious but explicable compound of fascist, communist, and democratic principles. It seemed to me more important for the American public to understand its causes, its components, its historical significance, its relation to the social scene and to economic evolution, and the probable results of its success than to praise or condemn it. Whether Haya's compromising of his program, which has alienated a good deal of his popular support and has gained him but little support from the foreign-capital group, the clerics, and the militarists, whom he hoped to appease, and which has caused a deep schism in Apra ranks, is statesmanship or opportunism I leave to the eminent New Dealer who is my critic. That Haya's attitude is not "doctrinaire" I agree heartily. Neither is mine.

New York, January 19

CARLETON BEALS

Are the Japanese Mandates Fortified?

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In your issue of January 2, 1935, you say: "The subsequent fortification [by Japan] of its Pacific mandates in violation of the agreement with the League further destroyed the basis of the 1922 compromise."

I am amazed that you have the hardihood to make such a bald statement without any evidence to support it. So far as I am aware, only two competent and disinterested observers from the United States have visited the Japanese mandated territory recently—one was Junius Wood of the *Chicago Tribune*, the other myself. I spent six weeks in the mandated islands in October and November of 1933 and devoted considerable time to an investigation of the alleged fortifications, airplane depots, and construction of naval bases. Anyone who has visited these islands and has the slightest idea of shipping necessities knows how preposterous these stories about naval bases and fortifications are. I went wherever I pleased with no restrictions or limitations, took photographs, and no one interposed any objections. I conversed with Japanese officials, merchants, fishermen, missionaries (both Protestant and Roman Catholic), and

with the natives on all the islands visited. In this way I learned all that had been done or was being done. I saw for myself the actual conditions.

There is an over-plus of international friction without the gratuitous distribution of misinformation. And there are various things for which Japan may be criticized justly without resorting to fiction. It can be stated without qualification that Japan is obeying literally the terms of the mandate.

I do not know the sources of these stories about the nefarious actions of Japan in the mandated territory. I have invariably found that the people who are greatly incensed concerning conditions there have never been in those regions and can only support their statements by the ambiguous phrase "they say." The Associated Press stories ostensibly emanating from the League of Nations are not put out under the name of any responsible individual, nor are they said to be the findings of any authorized investigator sent by the League of Nations. They are strictly anonymous. In this connection I have discovered that certain widely circulated newspapers are not at all interested in obtaining information from persons conversant with conditions at first hand.

ALBERT W. HERRE,

Curator Zoological Museum,

Formerly Director of Fisheries in the Philippines
Stanford University, Cal., January 11

[While we welcome Mr. Herre's report as that of a first-hand observer and hope that he is correct in his belief that the mandated islands have not been fortified, it is interesting to note that as recently as January 18 the League Council formally asked Japan to explain "the disproportion which appears to exist between the sums spent for the equipment of ports in certain islands and the volume of their commercial activity." If such an explanation is forthcoming at this late date, we shall of course be glad to withdraw our statement.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

No Place Like Home!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

May I say, for the benefit of your readers in the Northwest, how it feels to come home to "God's Own Country"?

Through the month of December I talked in Canada from Montreal to Vancouver. I addressed twenty-six meetings in all, held under various auspices and in all kinds of halls. Three of the meetings in Vancouver were held in public schools—halls seating from five hundred to eight hundred people, rented for \$10 per meeting. During my entire stay in Canada we had no hall trouble and all meetings were held as per schedule.

On January 6, I was scheduled to speak in Seattle for the Friends of the Soviet Union. The local Hearst paper was running a violent anti-red campaign. There was a great deal of nervousness among hall owners, but a hall was obtained and the meeting was held. About three thousand people came out, and we discussed "The Economic Significance of Soviet Russia." The meeting passed off quite without incident. On January 7 I was scheduled to speak on the same topic in Spokane. The local Chamber of Commerce, assisted by the American Legion, closed every hall in the city. The F. S. U. secretary had to call off the meeting. On January 8, at Bremerton, Washington, I was scheduled by the local F. S. U. to speak on "Fascism, Capitalism, and Technocracy," a grotesque enough subject, in all conscience. The Board of Education rented the High School Auditorium, took a \$5 deposit on the contract, and then, on the night before the meeting was to be held, called a special meeting

and refused the use of the hall. The American Legion was most outspoken in demanding this action.

Out of my first three meetings in the "good old U. S. A." two were canceled on the insistence of the local business interests—an average of 66⅔ per cent.

The Commonwealth Builders, a local organization, has just elected a majority of the Washington Statehouse and Senate, and proposes to transform Washington from a profit to a use economy by parliamentary action. It would seem, however, as though the local business men might still have something to say on that and other subjects.

New York, January 15

SCOTT NEARING

Are Payless Furloughs Pay Cuts?

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

It was stated in your editorial on the LaGuardia administration that the pay cut instituted by the Mayor had never been revoked. The truth is that the reduction in pay instituted by the Mayor was a temporary furlough and that the furlough lasted less than a year, the pay of all city employees having now been restored to the level which obtained before the furlough. Of course there are a few exceptions in the higher brackets, where salaries of commissioners and some others were permanently cut, but it is not fair to describe this reduction in salaries in high places as a wage cut. I think the Mayor has a right to claim that he carried out his pledge not to institute any general wage cuts. It seems to me that a temporary furlough for less than a year, caused by a grave emergency, cannot fairly be called a general wage cut.

New York, January 21

A READER



1935—TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VIKING PRESS

THE JUDGE AND THE PROPHET

Two recently published books have a peculiar appropriateness and importance at this particular time.

"*The Curse of Bigness*" (\$3.50) is a collection of the private papers and important decisions of Supreme Court Justice Brandeis. Thoughtful readers cannot afford to neglect this life-time of wisdom of the distinguished social reformer, people's attorney and history-making jurist.

The Supreme Court is now beginning an unpredictable session, during which it will be called upon to hear test cases arising out of New Deal legislation. This intimate glimpse into the judicial philosophy of one of the Court's pivotal members will be uniquely meaningful to perceptive readers. It is a valuable contribution to a clearer understanding of this present, critical hour in history...

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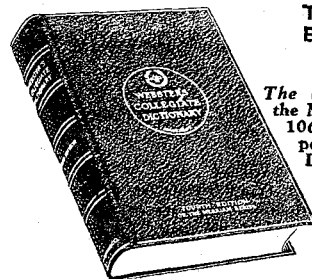
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## The SEX LIFE of the UNMARRIED ADULT

Edited by Ira S. Wile, M.D.

The contributors include Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, Margaret Mead, Prof. Ernest R. Groves, Mary Beard, Prof. Ernest W. Burgess, Horace M. Kallen, Prof. Robert Morse Lovett, Lorine Pruette, Morris L. Ernst, Prof. N. W. Ingalls.

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## United Front in California

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The trial of workers of this city for criminal syndicalism is proceeding in an atmosphere of reactionary frenzy stimulated by Hearst, the *Bee*, the Lions, the Elks, and other antediluvian mammalia. The prosecution argues that the contending forces are the American "peepul" and Moscow. Your editorial paragraph of January 16 argues that the contending forces are the agricultural overlords and the Communist Party. True, the prosecutor wants to outlaw the C. P. But the chief aim of the overlords, who are supplementing the state's salary to the prosecutor, is to smash unionism in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys by sending to San Quentin Pat Chambers, Caroline Decker, Jack Warnick, Norman Mini, and other leaders and active members of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union. The issue is one which deserves the support of every friend of organized labor.

May I add that while Leo Gallagher represents most of the defendants, Norman Mini is being defended by Albert Goldman, noted Chicago Socialist attorney, retained by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense. The latter organization has also bailed out Jack Warnick, who is defended by the International Labor Defense, and is raising additional bail funds.

Thus far defendants and counsel have presented a united front against the reactionary prosecution. If the united front continues and is aided, we may have a fighting chance to save the prisoners, head off a new terror wave, and protect unionism. One way to aid is by sending a financial contribution to help defray legal expenses; address James Rorty, Apartment 205, 150 Franklin Street, San Francisco. A strict accounting will be given.

Sacramento, Cal., January 20

HERBERT SOLOW

## Radio Censorship

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am now engaged in the preparation of a survey for the American Civil Liberties Union on the subject of radio censorship. I should be very grateful to any of your readers who may know of actual instances of radio censorship if they would communicate with me at 1359 Broadway.

New York, January 15

MINNA F. KASSNER

## Contributors to This Issue

JOHN GUNTHER is the Vienna correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*.

CLAUDE MCKAY is the author of "Home to Harlem" and "Banana Bottom."

HUGH DALTON, an English economist and a former Labor M. P., is the author of "Principles of Public Finance."

CHARLTON OGBURN is counsel for the American Federation of Labor.

SAMUEL ROMER is managing editor of the *Voice*, official organ of the Mechanics' Educational Society of America.

LOUIS M. HACKER has recently published "A Short History of the New Deal."

ARTHUR WUBNIG is a student of economics who has followed closely the history of labor under the New Deal.

H. B. PARKES is a member of the History Department of New York University.

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# Labor and Industry

## Labor Ends the Automobile Settlement

By CHARLTON OGBURN

*Washington, January 28*

THE announcement of the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor and of the federal labor unions of the United Automobile Workers from the compromise settlement of March 25 last between the automobile manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor, and from the Automobile Labor Board set up thereunder, has been publicly made by William Green; the notice of the withdrawal had been previously given to the automobile manufacturers and to President Roosevelt.

As a result of the President's successful mediation of a serious conflict between the automobile manufacturers and the labor unions threatening a strike, this compromise agreement was announced on March 25, 1934. Under this settlement an Automobile Labor Board was to be created, one member to be named by the manufacturers, one by the American Federation of Labor, and the third, representing the public, by the NRA. As this settlement was without duration of time, either of the two parties could withdraw by giving notice to the other party. Public announcement of this withdrawal was withheld in the hope that a revision of the agreement could be accomplished which would permit its being reinstated for a fixed time. The formula on which this settlement was based, embodying proportional representation, was accepted by the unions with misgivings but as a patriotic act, because the President as mediator recommended it and because it was a basis on which the issue could be compromised with the manufacturers.

That the elected representatives of the majority should speak for all voters has now been positively confirmed as the labor law of this country by Acts of Congress—to wit, the Railway Labor Act of June, 1934, and the Joint Resolution of Congress, No. 44, approved June 19, 1934—and by the executive order of the President providing for majority rule, as in the order creating the National Steel Labor Relations Board and in the decision announced on September 1 by the National Labor Relations Board in the Houde Engineering case and a number of decisions of the same board and of other boards, based on the Houde decision, all subsequent to the automobile settlement of March 25. It is therefore futile for the A. F. of L. unions in the automobile industry to continue the experiment of proportional representation.

The United States government through the Department of Justice is seeking to have the federal courts enforce the majority rule announced in the Houde Engineering case. Organized labor is firmly and irrevocably committed to the policy of majority rule as essential to collective bargaining, and is strongly opposed to proportional or minority representation because it frustrates collective bargaining. It becomes manifestly impossible for the American Federation of Labor with its right hand to fight vigorously for upholding majority rule in the Houde case and with its left hand to support proportional representation. It is too anomalous a position to be sustained.

Automobile workers should not be the only workers in

this country to be denied the benefits of the Joint Resolution of Congress and of the majority-rule decisions made thereunder, which really constitute a repudiation of the principle of proportional representation. Proportional representation should therefore no longer be the basis for the decisions of any labor board. The American Federation of Labor accordingly had no alternative but to withdraw from this settlement and from the Automobile Labor Board. It is unthinkable that the agreement should be in perpetuity, and that the automobile workers should alone have saddled on them forever the principle of proportional representation to frustrate their collective-bargaining efforts. The jurisdiction of the Automobile Labor Board was limited to questions of discrimination, discharge, and representation. It could not hear and pass on all controversies under Section 7-a, as can the boards created under the Joint Resolution.

Furthermore, the Automobile Labor Board on December 7 announced plans for an election in the Cadillac plant with the purpose of establishing "proportional representation for all substantial labor groups" in the plant. This election ordered by the Automobile Labor Board, without authority and over the opposition of the American Federation of Labor unions, precipitated a crisis among the automobile unions. Subsequently, the Automobile Labor Board, without authority of labor and on a wholly impossible basis, has ordered and held further elections in automobile plants, which accomplish no earthly good except to leave the workers without adequate means of collective bargaining.

I may add, furthermore, that the Automobile Labor Board has been extremely unsatisfactory to the unions of automobile workers; a large audience of automobile workers attending the NRA hearings in Detroit on December 16 actually booed the name of the Automobile Labor Board. These workers expected the board under its admitted jurisdiction to pass on the hundreds of cases of automobile workers discharged for union affiliation.

In the cases of twenty-four employees who completely proved that they had been discharged or laid off for union affiliation, the board had to make findings of fact to that effect. Nevertheless, the board did not order the reinstatement of a single one of those twenty-four employees, but either recommended that they be given work or ordered that they be put to work. Generally the jobs given them by their employers were of a less satisfactory kind than the jobs from which they had been discharged. The record of failure made by this board grows out of the chairman's conception of the functions of his office, which apparently is that his duties in industrial relations are such as might be performed by the personnel manager of a plant. His present antagonism to organized labor, despite his long career in it, might have been foreshadowed by his article on Labor in "Social Trends," in which he voiced the prophecy that the labor movement of the future might lie in the company unions. This philosophy has rather unfitted him for dealing in an impartial capacity with organized labor.

# That Automobile Strike

By SAMUEL ROMER

*Detroit, January 23*

**I**F the United Automobile Workers of America fails to call a general strike of automobile workers in the spring or is defeated in such a strike, it will mean that the American Federation of Labor is through in the automobile industry—that it has proved itself incapable of organizing production labor in an important anti-union industry.

The A. F. of L. organization in the industry is composed of plant unions (federal locals), each separately affiliated to the parent organization but loosely united in a national council called the United Automobile Workers of America. This council functions in a strictly advisory capacity to the national representative of the A. F. of L., meets only at the call of the national representative, and generally is quite powerless. Thirty-five per cent of all dues collected by the locals is remitted to Washington. But neither the locals nor individual members have any control either over the national representative, who has the practical power of an absolute dictator, or over the 35 per cent. Attempts by these locals to band together in an autonomous international union have been frustrated by vague promises of William Green that "you shall become an international when the time is ripe."

Failure to call a general strike this spring will mean that after two years of intensive effort the A. F. of L. admits that the employers are too strong. If the strike is called, however, the likelihood of its success is small. In addition to the usual omniscient spy systems both within and without the shops and the formation of company unions, the organized employers during the past year have made deft use of the Automobile Labor Board and the NRA automobile code to impede and stifle any revolt against their autocratic rule.

Practically everyone in Detroit admits that the Automobile Labor Board is definitely pro-employer and playing the bosses' game. Thousands of workers accept the actions of the board as the Roosevelt stamp of approval upon company unionism; and certainly nothing that has been done in Washington with respect to automobile labor would tend to destroy that impression. The Automobile Labor Board was set up by Presidential proclamation in the spring of 1934 in an attempt to stave off a threatened strike. Until December it was inactive, inefficient, and useless. A study of 195 decisions issued by the board from its inception until January 17, 1935, reveals that in the overwhelming majority of alleged discrimination cases the board ruled either "no discrimination" or "the employer did not err." In those instances where discrimination was so obvious that it could not be ignored, the board did not admit that the employer had used "discrimination" against active unionists in so many words; it merely "recommended" that the employer rehire the discharged worker.

The personnel of the board consists of Nicholas Kelley, attorney for the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, Dr. Leo Wolman, representing the federal government, and Richard Byrd, a Pontiac, Michigan, automotive worker. Mr. Kelley is obviously biased. Dr. Wolman is generally

regarded as the brains of the board, and he has been consistent in the tacit and direct promotion of company unions against free trade unions. Byrd, supposedly representing labor, can only rank as Dr. Wolman's office boy. Since his first act was to agree to unanimous decisions, he cannot, even if he disagrees with any ruling, issue a minority report. He has been repeatedly repudiated by every section of organized labor and has devoted his efforts for the most part to a still-born independent union, the Associated Automobile Workers of America.

On its way to oblivion because it was generally ignored by labor, the Automobile Labor Board has played its trump card—and stands a good chance of winning. Using the prestige of the federal government, it has suddenly ordered "collective-bargaining elections" held in the plants. These elections provide for the choosing of representatives by the different departments in the factory to meet in a body with the employers. Both the A. F. of L. and the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, a strong independent union, immediately repudiated the elections and ordered their members to refuse to vote. They pointed out that to place unionists in the running for department representatives would mean that these unionists would have to sit side by side with men representing company unions—a tacit recognition that these company-puppet organizations have a legal right to exist. The attitude of these "collective-bargaining committees" is well expressed by Elmer H. Gustavson, chairman of the committee at the Cadillac Motor Car Company. After a full day's session, for which the men were paid by the company, Gustavson announced that "there are a few inequalities in rates in the plant which the management is as anxious to straighten out as we are. We are working together for the same end." Gustavson revealed the real reason for these elections when he announced that the elected boards throughout the country would unite in a "national automotive employees' association"—an industry-wide company union.

The federal government may deny responsibility for the anti-labor actions of the Automobile Labor Board; it cannot deny its own responsibility in the matter of the NRA code. The automobile code is as rotten an egg as was ever hatched by the Blue Eagle. Not only does it nullify labor's right to organize through the infamous "merit clause"; its wage-and-hour provisions are farcical. At the Detroit hearings evidence was given that under the code the employers could legally make their employees work seventy and eighty hours a week, since the code provides only for a forty-two-hour average over a six-month period. A study made by the M. E. S. A. of wages received by the tool-and-die makers, "the aristocracy of automobile labor," reveals that the average annual wage of a skilled machinist is between \$500 and \$700.

The expiration date for the code had originally been set for September 4, 1934, but as labor prepared for a showdown, the White House arbitrarily extended it until November 3. As November rolled around, it was again extended

—this time to February 2, although labor had been promised public hearings. At this writing, nine days before this date, no hearings have been announced, and it is certain that it will be extended at least another thirty days and may be extended until the expiration of the National Recovery Act. By that time, of course, automobile production will be in the doldrums and a strike will be ineffective. It seems obvious that, in the words of an A. F. of L. official, "the automobile industry is the diapered baby of the Roosevelt Administration." Or vice versa.

Any automobile strike must and will be political as well as economic. As a matter of fact, at a recent meeting of the national council of the federal locals one delegate seriously proposed that a general strike be called in the industry to force the abolition of the Automobile Labor Board.

Last spring the A. F. of L. could have evoked at least a 50 per cent response to a general strike call. But by delay it wasted its opportunity and let a wage increase and the meddling of Roosevelt postpone any possible action until too late. The immediate result was a great dropping away of membership. Thousands of workers tore up their union books, vowing never to reenter union halls. Unversed in trade-union tradition, these workers could only see that they had spent four or five dollars and had got nothing in return. During the past two months the A. F. of L. unions, under the leadership of Frank J. Dillon, have been making strenuous efforts to come back. Assuming a far more militant attitude, they have been organizing on the promise of definite action if the code fails them again. This campaign has met with a certain measure of success. In Flint, where a militant group had united with Byrd in Detroit in an attempt to form the Associated Automobile Workers, the group is back in A. F. of L. ranks convinced that the Associated was merely a masked company union. Ingenious tactics of organization have been resorted to in the face of the widespread fear of discrimination; in the Ford Motor Company, for instance, the men are organizing by number instead of by name. Although in case of a strike the A. F. of L. may be able to stop production entirely through control of key plants, it will not have the sympathy of thousands of workers in the many assembly plants in which the union has not even nuclei. The A. F. of L. strength is evidently concentrated in the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel and Motor Products, two key plants, and the White Motor Company, unimportant in the industry. Union strength in General Motors and Chrysler can only be guessed. A factor which must be considered is that it will cost millions of dollars to run a successful strike. Thousands of workers may answer the strike call; few will stick on the picket line unless their families are fed.

If a strike is called and the mass of workers respond, the horrors of Toledo and Minneapolis will be remembered as a kindergarten tea when the Detroit workers prepare to pull into line recalcitrant sections of the industry. Many of the biggest plants are in small cities, where the company controls the police forces. For instance, in the event of a general strike, it is probable that no more than a minority of Dodge workers will respond. This will mean mass picket lines in Dodge-controlled Hamtramck. The automobile bosses don't fool—the graves of five workers who dared to march to the Ford factory to plead for relief bear mute evidence. The challenge of organized labor will not be met with kid gloves on the part of the manufacturers; arsenals in the factories

and machine-guns on plant roofs testify to the preparations on the other side of the fence.

It is unfortunate that the best-organized section of the industry, the tool-and-die makers, will be finishing off its program; a walkout of these skilled men will add little to hopes for success. The Mechanics' Educational Society, which finds its strength among these tool-and-die makers, will thus be relatively unaffected by the smashing of the A. F. of L. if the strike is lost. The M. E. S. A. is today the only successful union in the industry, having gained in prestige and power from two general strikes of the skilled men. It has been able to enforce a forty-hour work week for tool-and-die makers in the industry despite the code. Now an industrial union embracing both the skilled and semi-skilled, it will no doubt attempt the organization of the production workers if the A. F. of L. fizzles. But it will face the same united front of the bosses and the government, offset only by a more militant leadership and the prestige of previous success. I predicted a year ago in *The Nation* that the automobile worker was marching on the road to organization. He is still marching, but with a decided limp.

## "Rioting" in Illinois

THE acquittal of fourteen workers charged with violation of the Illinois Treason Act—more commonly known as the criminal-syndicalism law—at Hillsboro, Montgomery County, has been followed by the prosecution of eight unemployed workers on charges of "rioting" at Carlinville, Macoupin County. Eleven workers were arrested on August 18, at Virden, a historic mine town, because they took the evicted furniture of Galen Sutphin from an alley to the city park, where a miners' mass-meeting was going on. The city fathers, who in oratory had pledged themselves before the surging miners' meeting, as "strong friends of labor," were embarrassed at being exposed as instigators of evictions. On the day of the meeting, when thousands of militant mine folks were in town, nothing was done, but on the following day warrants were issued for eleven of the militant members of the Virden unemployed organization. Eight of the workers were summarily released on bonds varying from \$3,000 to \$5,000, and the three others on their own recognition. They were told very vaguely that nothing would come of the charge. Once the November elections were over and the county Democratic machine safely in power, the prosecution almost overnight served notices of trial. The defendants, all believing that the charges would not be pressed, had prepared no defense or mass agitation and were caught asleep at the switch. They charge that the Macoupin County state's attorney, M. F. Seyfrit, Democratic boss, tricked them. The trial began on January 18 with hurriedly procured defense attorneys courageously working to save the accused, most of them mere youths, from penitentiary sentences. One of the most prominent defendants is C. H. Mayer, a leader of the Workers' Party, who was arrested with A. J. Muste at Belleville, Illinois, last summer. The prosecution has made no secret of the fact that they are out to "get" Mayer.

Next Week

### Saving Cuba

By Carleton Beals

A Review of the Foreign Policy Association's Report, "Problems of the New Cuba."

# Books, Drama, Films

## Body's Freedom

By HELEN NEVILLE

From body's self the body  
cries release;  
itself to shed  
in unbodied space—

but weighed with its blood, dragging  
a pulse like a chain;  
breath drawn up and pressed back  
on itself again;

limbs that ebb and flow:  
in this wilderness,  
the pulse may run, the blood leap, the body  
find its egress;

swell to its ends, flooding  
sinew and thigh and breast—  
the body released, to fathom  
the body released.

For body's freedom  
is bodied yet:  
the absolute flesh  
goes to defeat;

the crescent flesh  
weighs like a stone:  
the body flies  
within the bone.

## All There Is to Say

*The Economic Consequences of the New Deal.* By Benjamin Stolberg and Warren Jay Vinton. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$1.

IN a very real sense this little book says all there is to say about the New Deal; and it says it with such economy of means, the utilization of such a brilliant and at the same time forthright vocabulary, that one wonders what the rest of us, prosing along in pedestrian fashion, could have been thinking we were up to all this time. Of course. Not patient analysis, not detailed exposure of economic and social errors, but ridicule—a blistering, scornful, and honest contempt—was the rhetorical method that the Washington monkeyshines merited; but only Ben Stolberg, with the competent assistance of Warren Vinton, was capable of employing it. Almost every page—to the penultimate sentence on the last one, “There is nothing the New Deal has so far done that could not have been done better by an earthquake”—contains a wise and dismissing final observation, and proves what many of us knew all the time—that Stolberg not only is our leading pamphleteer but belongs in the company of the select few of all time.

“The Economic Consequences of the New Deal” is a pretentious title for a tract for the times; but the authors do succeed, within the compass of some 17,000 words, in exposing almost all the amazing and disastrous results of the Brain Trust’s blunderings. The crisis occurred essentially as a result

of capitalist accumulation; no thoroughgoing program of reconstruction, therefore, could work, short of the expropriation of the private owners of the means of production. The New Dealers, however, were no revolutionists but middle-class reformers; they were firmly convinced that the mechanisms of production, distribution, and exchange could be patched up once more. Their proposals were charmingly simple. The nation’s consumptive capacity had broken down because of the maldistribution of income: naturally, then, redistribute it. The New Deal has ended by redistributing income upward. Economic and social insecurity was one of the evils of our time: safeguard the adult, the sick, and the old against unemployment, acute and chronic illness, and indigent old age. The New Deal has ended by saddling upon the workers themselves—through its failure to provide for public contributions via taxation to the social-insurance funds—the costs of their own grossly inadequate protection. The capital-goods industries were in a state of collapse: revive them through a public-works program. The New Deal has looked into every ditch and behind every thicket for construction projects that were socially useful and capable of paying for themselves ultimately. The unhappy results of this hunt we all know today. Agriculture was in depression because of overproduction within the price framework: reduce yields until domestic and foreign markets could be restored. The vicious program of destruction of the AAA was launched and scarcity became the keynote of agriculture’s planning, but neither the domestic nor the foreign market has been revived.

After two years of pulling and hauling, the New Deal has only succeeded in making the rich richer and the poor poorer; it has fixed more firmly the hold of monopoly capitalism on the productive enterprise of the country; it has made the petty bourgeois—the small home- and farm-owners—more completely the victims of interest slavery; it has underwritten scarcity as the economic method of capitalism; it has gulled and cozened labor so effectively that the conservative labor leaders have virtually surrendered the use of the only effective weapon they ever had—the right to strike. About all these subjects this little book by Stolberg and Vinton has something to say; and often only a single flashing sentence is required to illuminate a whole dreary landscape. It is to be noted that the chapter on labor is particularly penetrating.

One may indicate, however, that the authors have committed one error and have failed to point the moral of one of their accusations. In three different places (pp. 6, 35, 44), in connection with their discussion of agriculture’s difficulties, they seem to think that a system of low tariffs would help the farmers. It is true that the American farmer sells in a world market and buys in a protected domestic one, and that to some extent he is therefore at a disadvantage; but it must be recalled that during the whole period 1865-1920, when American agriculture was selling abroad profitably its great surpluses of wheat, meatstuffs, and cotton, the domestic tariff wall was as impenetrable as ever. What is at the heart of the agricultural problem today is the same blight that is destroying the whole capitalist economy—its debts. American agriculture simply has too costly a plant to permit it to compete successfully in a world market with young producing countries—capitalistically speaking—like Canada, Argentina, Brazil, India, and Russia. In 1933, for example, we sold 32 per cent more cotton abroad than we had sold annually during 1921-25, but the value received was 50.5 per cent less! Tariff tinkering is no solution for agriculture’s ills: foreign markets can never be recaptured at a profit as long as we continue to operate a vast and inefficient plant; and as for our domestic needs, if we were to conduct agriculture at a high stage of productivity we could dispense with most of the farmers and most of the land in culti-

vation. But what would that do to existing capital values?

In the second place, I regret the failure of the authors to point out what has become the greatest economic danger inherent in the New Deal's program of scarcity. The New Deal has not merely placed limitations in the way of production; it is openly and wantonly encouraging inefficiency. A large number of the industrial codes under the NRA not only limit production but prevent plant expansion and the installation of new machinery—with the inevitable obstacles placed in the way of the introduction of better technical and therefore more economical methods. In the case of agriculture the use of the device of proration for the purpose of limiting production in cotton, tobacco, and sugar (the Secretary of Agriculture has spoken of asking Congress to extend the scheme to the other cash crops) simply means that farmers will be encouraged to be less efficient rather than more; for what profit will there be in the utilization of the technics of biology, chemistry, and mechanics if the end result is to be not the production of greater crops but simply the same fixed quotas? As a result, we are in danger of losing the few agricultural skills we have acquired so painfully and over such a long period of time. This, really, is the greatest peril that confronts us: that in its efforts to protect the profit system the New Deal is permitting the realization of the possibilities of abundance to escape us. And without abundance not socialism but a new feudalism is bound to be our fate.

LOUIS M. HACKER

## A Mind Divided

*A House Divided.* By Pearl S. Buck. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.50.

THIS second sequel to "The Good Earth" centers its attention upon the third generation of Wangs. The hero's grandfather was a farmer and his father was a war lord, but he himself is our strict contemporary, being one of those educated Chinese youths who are so much in the world's news at present. Not that he is in any sense a typical young revolutionary. He is a type, of course, as all Mrs. Buck's people are and have been, but he is not the type that circulates literature and gets beheaded. He is the type that knows the old world to be dead, and is in the main willing to have it so, but does not know what kind of world should be put in its place. He is the young man whose mind is sensitive, subtle, and divided, so that his characteristic mood is perplexity when faced on the one hand with elders who are satisfied with a convention and on the other hand with juniors who are convinced of a cause. Because he is complex he can decide nothing. But because he is conscientious he sees everything—and therefore is an excellent hero for Mrs. Buck, who appears now more than ever to be quite frankly engaged in a narrative analysis of New China.

Her trilogy has been almost perfectly schematic. Just as Wang Lung loved the land and as Wang the Tiger loved warfare, so Wang Yuan loves the truth. Not only that. Wang Yuan's environment conveniently arranges itself in a pattern whose purpose is to show him the scope of his problem. His days pass partly in the country and partly in the city, partly in the East and partly in the West, for he spends six years as a student in the United States. The older generation subdivides itself for him in the persons of his father, who represents the war lord now about to become obsolete, his mother, who represents the country lady gone peasant again, his adopted mother in the coastal city, who represents the enlightened yet not too egregiously emancipated lady, and his uncle, who represents the rich elder indolently and gracefully content with his good lot. Yuan's own generation separates itself on the male

side into his cousin Sheng, who as an aesthete accepts the new freedom without any of its responsibilities, and his other cousin Meng, who as a revolutionist accepts so much responsibility that he is utterly graceless and granitic; and on the female side into four girls—Ai-lan, a beautiful dancing moth who has grown Western wings and has a shallow heart, the revolutionary schoolmate (nameless) who is too intense and mirthless to be felt as a woman at all, Mei-ling, who suits him exactly because she is both serious and feminine, and Mary Wilson, the cool professor's daughter whom he meets in America but cannot accept because she is alien, and because although she is all that a Western girl can be she is not enough.

It is from these specimens that Yuan learns to know himself and his world, and from such a list of them the impression might be gathered that Mrs. Buck's novel was somehow lifeless. But this is not so, for no less than in "The Good Earth" and "Sons" she has revealed here a remarkable ability to breathe the finest, warmest, and most delicate life into the abstractions she has chosen to treat. It is not the kind of life which we ordinarily expect and occasionally get from fiction; it is at once rarer and more general than that, the result in us being a sense of respectful intimacy, of dignified identification, with the whole of an endlessly interesting race. It is perhaps unfortunate that Mrs. Buck should have chosen in the beginning a prose style which now grows a little tiresome in its effect of effortlessness. But that is a minor point in view of all that we have gained from her trilogy—not to speak of what we have gained from her masterpiece to date, the translation two years ago of "All Men Are Brothers."

MARK VAN DOREN

## The Sophistries of Sokolsky

*Labor's Fight for Power.* By George E. Sokolsky. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.

IF Mr. Sokolsky's book has not been underwritten by the National Association of Manufacturers, it should have been. "Labor's Fight for Power" is sheer propaganda—crude, stupid, and vicious. What it lacks in subtlety, it makes up in confusion and ignorance. Mr. Sokolsky sets himself a perfectly fictitious problem in reconstructing the history of Section 7-a: Why, he asks with a perfectly straight face, do American workers "prefer" the company union to the trade union? He has his answer pat. Each American worker is a little boss and capitalist in psychic embryo. The company union constitutes a perfect device for achieving "a community of interest between capital and labor." The A. F. of L. unions are rife with labor racketeering. The A. F. of L.'s craft-union policies are "unrelated to the necessities of American labor." At the same time, by seeking to impose the principle of One Big Union, the A. F. of L. steers us straight toward communism.

Mr. Sokolsky accomplishes a truly prodigious feat. He not only gives voice to the idea that American workers have been flocking into company unions of their own free will; he not only proclaims that in the major industries "capital has been able to prove that its own workers are not dissatisfied and that they do not want to join the Federation"; but he does all this without ever breathing a word about the determined fight which the overlords of industry have carried on against the principle of free and secret elections in which workers might indicate their choice between trade and company unions!

From the first page to the last the book is studded with gems of historical insight and logical acumen. The NRA suffers from a fallacy which must lead straight to fascism, for it "attempts to introduce communistic measures in a capitalistic structure." One of the characteristics of Marxism, *inter alia*, is

the "principle of the totalitarian state." We would not have suffered from a depression beginning in 1929 if wage rates had come down fast enough and far enough after 1921. "Organized capital," we are informed, "does not exist in the United States"; our capitalists "are too recent to have become class conscious"; Owen D. Young, although a capitalist, advocates "socialistic measures." Bentham is set side by side with Marx, Veblen, and Lenin as one whose economic theories "vied with the ancient Ricardo, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer." Revolution can never come in the United States, because we possess an "automatic process for the redistribution of wealth and economic power," because there "is no army," because in the course of pressure politics "men telephone to Congress," and because "the American is without temper." Do we wish to discover the true "idealists of the world"? Then we must seek for them among "White Russians, émigrés, reactionary Chinese, treaty-port *compradores*. They believe that men may be hungry and just . . . may starve and yet adhere to that which produced starvation. They have principles and ideals. They know what is right and wrong. They are conscious of historical continuity. Therefore they are the first to die." Before the advent of 1929 "there had been only two or three panics in the United States but they were of a trivial nature." Professor Tugwell's original drug bill flies in the face of the law of supply and demand. The Brain Trust is of one flesh with Hitler and Stalin. Organized labor is the only pressure group in the United States which "has the strength and purpose to fight for what it wants"; moreover, should "all the possible demands of labor be granted, then profits must disappear and communism is inevitable." The rich in the United States "give to charity lavishly, thus taxing themselves for the upkeep of the depressed"; what is more, the capitalists of our country are utterly incapable of resisting "redistributive legislation," for "although the rich seek to avoid higher taxes, they are few in number, rarely vote, seldom know how to influence public opinion, and therefore have no real medium of resistance."

In all this awful cacophony of depraved ignorance one statement rings true: "I uphold the capitalist system . . . the faults are in the operation of the capitalist system, not in the essential structure." The prospective customer may be interested to know that a substantial part of the book is entirely alien to its ostensible themes—the struggle over Section 7-a and the political tendencies of the New Deal. To puff and pad his commodity to its full \$2 worth, the publisher has seen fit to introduce one essay which deals with American diplomatic policy in the Far East, and another which expounds the wisdom of flexible as against rigid tariffs.

ARTHUR WUBNIC

## Mr. Belloc's History

*A Shorter History of England.* By Hilaire Belloc. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

*Cromwell.* By Hilaire Belloc. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$4.

MR. BELLOC'S historical writings have usually been dismissed as literary exercises. It is true that he can be convicted of frequent inaccuracies, and that he has a habit of clinging to his prejudices in the face of all the evidence—notably in his insistence that the dominant strain in the English racial inheritance is that of the Romanized Celts, not the Anglo-Saxon. His activities as essayist, novelist, poet, politician, and student of military strategy have been far too varied to enable him to devote much time to research. Moreover, he writes better English than has usually been considered quite decent among scholars. His style is somewhat archaic and over-

inflated, in an eighteenth-century manner; but in spite of its divorce from the language as it is now spoken, it shows a mastery of English rhythms and a respect for the precise meanings of words which make it always, no matter what subject Mr. Belloc may be discussing, a pleasure to read.

The general principles of Mr. Belloc's interpretation of history should not, however, be dismissed so easily. He is prejudiced, but not more so than most academic historians. The official version of English history, as promulgated by such writers as Macaulay, Freeman, Stubbs, Froude, Gardiner, and Green, was Germanophile, Protestant, bourgeois, liberal, patriotic, and optimistic. Mr. Belloc, on the other hand, is a Roman Catholic; he considers that a popular monarchy is more truly democratic than government by parliament; and while his social ideal is distributivism, he believes that what is actually being realized is its antithesis—the servile state. These three opinions are at least as respectable as the conviction of the official historians that the English race inherited from its Teutonic ancestors a genius for reconciling individualism with order, and that the main current of English history was the slow growth of English freedom, broadening from precedent to precedent until it finally reached perfection in the age of Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Belloc's Catholicism does not noticeably cause him to distort facts; he admits most of the criticisms which Protestants have made against the church. It shows itself chiefly in his insistence that spiritual conditions are prior to material conditions. What he means by this assertion it is difficult to say; he nowhere produces any evidence which illustrates it. Such an attitude virtually makes history chaotic, since if changes in people's beliefs and ideals are not caused by the development of the productive forces and by changes in the relations of production, they can be attributed only to accident. Ideas do not drop from the sky. In point of fact, in so far as Mr. Belloc explains historical processes at all, he attributes them directly to accident. He attaches an overwhelming importance to the Black Death, for example, which he supposes to have caused the destruction of the medieval synthesis, and to Henry VIII's passion for Anne Boleyn, and to the personal weaknesses of the Stuart kings. It would follow from this attitude that it is impossible to forecast the future—an implication which Mr. Belloc would probably refuse to accept—and indeed that there is no particular reason why history should be studied at all.

Mr. Belloc's faith in monarchy is equally unhelpful. It makes his interpretation of the Middle Ages little more than a fascinating series of character studies. Undeniably the best of the medieval kings struggled against the feudal nobles and were, in their day, a progressive force; but they were powerful only because they represented the interests of those social classes—of the bourgeoisie, chiefly—which were opposed to the feudal anarchy. When this attitude is extended to the seventeenth century and the Stuart kings are represented as fighting for the welfare of the entire nation against a small group of rich men, it becomes nonsensical.

Mr. Belloc's distributivism does, however, give him considerable insight into the meaning of English history. It has no visible connection with his other beliefs—a fact which may be proved by the statement that it is identical with the agrarian radicalism of Thomas Jefferson and John Taylor of Caroline. Like Jefferson, Mr. Belloc realizes that the development of capitalism means the servile state, and, again like Jefferson, he regards the servile state as the destruction of human freedom and of all true civilization and not as a necessary transition phase in the progress of the race toward a more genuine and universal freedom. Mr. Belloc, therefore, plots English history in terms of an advance of the servile state. He realizes that the central theme is the development not of freedom and democracy but of the power of the English ruling class. England has for several centuries been governed by a relatively small clique of

landowning families, who have from the beginning been in close alliance with the merchants and financiers of the City and who, after a short period of conflict in the eighteen thirties and forties, became amalgamated also with the manufacturers. In spite of certain appearances of democratic control, England is an oligarchy. This is the one cardinal fact which explains its political and social development.

For the origins of the English oligarchy Mr. Belloc, like William Cobbett, Disraeli in his Tory-democratic period, and Karl Marx, turns to the sixteenth century. The English ruling class first acquired its power by robbing the church in the time of Henry VIII and by expropriating the peasants. Elizabeth, in Mr. Belloc's interpretation, was merely a puppet in the hands of the leaders of the new oligarchy, the Cecils. There followed the Stuart attempt to revive the monarchy, which was frustrated by the Roundhead leaders, many of whom, Mr. Belloc insists, were millionaires, and which ended with the consolidation of oligarchical power, including the establishment of the Bank of England and its other characteristic institutions in the reign of William III. Since that time the rule of the oligarchy has never seriously been threatened, and its only important failure was in Ireland. Mr. Belloc, emphasizing facts which are slurred over by the official historians, gives considerable attention to the impoverishment of the Irish people and the Irish famine.

If one assumes that the main lines of recent historical development, instead of being reversed by revolution, will be extended into the future, then this view can be accepted as largely true. One will criticize Mr. Belloc not for his thesis but because his elaboration of it is inadequate—because he devotes so much space to the details of political controversy and military tactics and so little to the financial and commercial forces behind them. His study of Cromwell, for example, which is perhaps the weakest of all Mr. Belloc's biographies, treats Cromwell merely as a cavalry leader and does not attempt to set him in his place in the social and economic forces of his time. And in his "History of England" he does not sufficiently emphasize the influence of India in determining the whole course of English foreign policy for the past two centuries; nor does he show how England today is governed not from Whitehall but from the Bank of England, or by what methods radical leaders are transformed into champions of the aristocracy, or how public opinion is molded to suit the interests of the ruling class. One might enumerate such criticisms indefinitely; but when all is said, the fact remains that Mr. Belloc's interpretation of English history since the Reformation, in spite of all its inaccuracies and inadequacies, is probably nearer to the truth than that given by the official historians.

H. B. PARKES

## Drama

### Elisabeth Bergner

AT the Shubert Theater Miss Elisabeth Bergner is giving New York "a taste of her quality." The phrase is from "Hamlet" and its import is modest, but it happens, I think, to cover the case. Here is an actress widely heralded in England as the best of our day and here is a heap of theatrical rubbish romantically entitled "Escape Me Never." Set the first to rummaging as best she may among the fripperies of the second and you have, perhaps, an exhibition not undiverting in its own trivial fashion. You have, to be specific, an engaging *gamine* who impishly bluffs her way from one meretricious situation to another and who keeps you interested in her grotesque little self when you could not possibly be interested in Margaret Kennedy's tawdrily romantic tale of the young musical

genius as he appears to the delighted eyes of shocked respectability. You have that and you have also as much more of the same sort of thing as you may care to take, but you have, unfortunately, precious little to go on if you happen to be trying to decide whether Miss Bergner is the great actress she is said to be or merely a cute little thing shrewdly exploiting her cuteness in a play which demands no talents essentially different from those of a music-hall mimic.

Probably no one could play this particular part any better than she does. Few if any, indeed, could play it one-half so charmingly, but the discouraging fact is that it seems to suit as well as it does. Great actresses are ready enough to appear in meretricious plays, but when they do one expects to catch in their performance something which the play itself does not even suggest. One expects them somehow to lift it above its own level, to give it a poignancy and a meaning which it does not have. But it was for this magic touch that I waited in vain. Miss Bergner gets out of the play everything which its author put in it. In her hands it realizes itself and becomes as entertaining as it could possibly be. But she does not transform it, does not make it into something better than it really is. Nor does it anywhere demand of her anything very difficult. For two acts she is an impudent waif sharing the garret of two musical-comedy bohemians; for a third she is the child-mother weeping softly over a dying baby. If most actresses of the type could not do what she does anything like so well, they would, nevertheless, do much the same thing, and the difference would be a difference of degree not a difference of kind.

One thing is certain. If Miss Bergner really is a great actress, then it was a mistake of major importance ever to introduce her to America in a play of this particular sort, for even if its badness were only badness of a different kind, the effect might not be as unfortunate as it is. She might struggle against a clumsily constructed fable and against an inarticulate or even bombastic script. She might struggle; she might triumph—partly at least; and by that triumph she might demonstrate her power. But the trouble with "Escape Me Never" is just that it is so meretriciously and so obviously easy, that its tawdry romanticism and its endless succession of emotional clichés are all actable with the minimum of effort, and that the one virtue it has is the virtue of providing any engaging personality with a series of opportunities to be coy, impudent, tender, defiant, and melancholy at appropriate intervals. There is no doubt that it serves very well to display the charm of a vivacious and appealing young lady, but it leaves the question of her possible greatness wide open.

Great works of art do not resemble one another. One knows when one has met a new one because one recognizes in it something which is unique, and the last thing one ever thinks of saying is that it is "like so and so only better." One does not think of something else because one is standing in wild surmise before a reality whose possibility had never been suspected. Now Miss Bergner has been described in terms which imply that she is capable of a performance suggesting the uniqueness of genius. She has been compared to Duse and Bernhardt by persons who obviously meant by the impossible combination only something which could not be described at all. But it was precisely by the absence of any hint of such uniqueness in her performance that I was most disconcerted. I do not know what it was that I expected, because I expected something which I could not possibly anticipate. Here, I thought, will be either a personality not merely attractive but attractive in some unfamiliar way, or even, perhaps, some mood of gaiety or sadness, some manner of thinking or feeling, not already a part of the familiar repertory. Some new door is about to be opened, some glimpse granted me of a mode of sensibility unknown before. When I come away, the world will seem richer, as it always does when something new has been added to it.

I shall be lifted as I always am when someone has broken through the familiar routine and thought or felt with that freshness which seems so easy but is actually so difficult. Perhaps, I said, I shall want to say what I always say when a greatness is revealed: "O brave new world, that has such people in 't!" But I did nothing of the sort. I came away saying only that Miss Bergner is a clever and attractive young lady who seems so far very easy to classify. Go to see her expecting a vivacious little urchin and you will not be surprised.

"The Old Maid" (Empire Theater) is dramatized from Edith Wharton's story about a woman who steals from her sister the affections of the latter's illegitimate child. There are two unusually fine performances by Judith Anderson and Helen Menken, but as is so often the case with dramatizations the bare outlines of the plot are more adequately represented than the psychological study for which the plot furnished an occasion.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

## Films

### "David Copperfield"

IT would be unnecessarily dull to enlarge on the reasons why the version of "David Copperfield" at the Capitol is not, and could not be, altogether satisfactory entertainment. It is enough to say that one can respond to it only as one responds to any of the works of Dickens—that is, by temporarily suspending any claims to adult intelligence. A marvelous child, with a lively gift of invention and a large heart, but with no particular aptitude for using his brain, Dickens requires that we get down on the floor and romp with him if we are to prevent the slight feeling of nausea that always arises before the spectacle of arrested development. Of Dickens it may truly be said, as it is said of many greater novelists, that in his books he gives us a *world*—whole, unique, instantly recognizable. But it is a child's world; it bears no close correspondence to any known reality; it has the cohesion of a dream. Perhaps it is for this reason that it is immortal. Because it is fundamentally unreal it is just as acceptable or unacceptable, as the case may be, to audiences today as to the readers of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* in the forties. There will always be people for whom the world of the child is more comforting than whatever world the adult constructs out of his experience and understanding. There will always be those who find their classic type of the indigent eccentric in Micawber rather than in those less consistently humorous Russian cousins of his—Marmaladov in "Crime and Punishment" and the Captain in "The Brothers Karamazov." In brief, Dickens is as immortal as the necessity in the human breast to confuse what one would like to be true with what is, in all probability, the truth. He is as immortal as illusion.

Perhaps the best tribute that one pays to this new version of "David Copperfield" is to say that it manages to rebuild the charming child-world of Dickens in celluloid as palpably unreal as the pages of his book. George Cukor has had the good sense to let the long roll of familiar characters parade before the eye with such rapidity that no interruption of the mind is possible. The direction, unmarked by any originality or striking quality of style, is exactly right for the intention. Everything is subordinated to the primary purpose of bringing out the particular idiosyncrasy by which each of the characters is remembered by the audience. Backgrounds are therefore dimly etched: the Micawber menage is indicated by a few brief shots, the wine merchant's establishment where David works flashes on for only a moment, and a "processed" back-drop of St.

Paul's behind W. C. Fields's stovepipe hat is all that we get of that London whose tides swirl around most of the personages in the novel. In the same manner, the scenarists are determined by the necessity of getting as many characters as possible within the time-period. This requires most notably the elimination of David's school days and all of the earlier history of his relationship with Steerforth. (In one sequence at least, the death of Dora, the necessity becomes a virtue, and one is confronted with perhaps the first example in history of a Hollywood director actually "toning down" a scene from an old master.) As may easily be imagined, the picture gives more of the excitement of a hasty scamper through a portrait gallery than of an integrated dramatic construction. And most discussion is certain to hover around the question of how successfully the different artists have caught the precise lineaments of the characters whom they portray.

It must immediately be acknowledged that Hollywood has spared no expense in providing for its audience the desired emotion of recognition. From W. C. Fields to Hugh Walpole the players in the film have been recruited from the very front ranks of contemporary entertainers. And on the whole the cast is as competent as it is expensive. The greatest single inspiration was the choice of Frank Lawton, perhaps the most satisfactory juvenile on the English-speaking stage at the moment, for the title role. So naturally does this young actor fall into sincerity in his rendition of the emotions that he very nearly forgets that he is playing Dickens. He almost destroys the illusion that everybody else is building up. A less happy selection was made in the case of Master Freddie Bartholomew (as David Copperfield, the child), who seemed to this spectator much too effeminate and at times badly trained in the use of his voice. Concerning W. C. Fields's Micawber opinion is certain to be very much divided. Although it may be granted that he conforms to the physical image remarkably well, he will probably be found lacking in sufficient gusto in his more important scenes. Here especially is a case where a less well-known actor would have worked against fewer handicaps in the audience's recollection. And the same is true for Roland Young, who is fundamentally too charming an actor to be properly sinister in the role of Uriah Heap. The less well-known players do, as a matter of fact, come off very much better; the Mrs. Micawber, the Peggotty, and the Steerforth are excellent; and, for this reviewer at least, the actor who plays the last named evokes the early Victorian period more uncannily than anyone else in the film. In brief, Hollywood has taken no chances in doing justice to the favorite author of G. K. Chesterton, Hugh Walpole, and Alexander Woollcott; and the result is another of those large-scale debauches in nineteenth-century sentimentalism which will one day swell the archives of early twentieth-century evasion.

"Bordertown" recounts the failure of a reformed roughneck from the Mexican quarter in Los Angeles to make a success of the law. The moral would seem to be that foreigners in this country should recognize their congenital inferiority and keep their proper place. Despite a slow beginning and wretched direction throughout, the film takes on a certain interest through the acting of Paul Muni as the frustrated self-made man and Bette Davis as the border-town sorceress who commits murder to secure his love. The Martin Johnsons' latest record of African exploration, "Baboon," includes some remarkable shots of mountain peaks, stockaded native villages, and animal herds taken from their large three-motored amphibian plane. Of interest also are the close-ups of rhinoceroses, giraffes, lions, and baboons, made possible, as one is too often reminded by Mr. Johnson's voice, by tempting the animals within a perilous range. There is not enough new material, however, to make the film a very significant addition to its class.

WILLIAM TROY